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AMERICA INDIGENA

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Director: MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA

Secretario a. i.: DEMETRIO SODI M.

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COLABORADORES

WILLARD W. BEATTY, *norteamericano. Doctor en Pedagogía. Antiguo* Director de Educación en el Bureau of Indian Affairs de Washington. Actualmente es Director Asociado del programa Save the Children Federation. Es autor de diversas publicaciones relacionadas con la educación entre los grupos nativos.

MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA, mexicano. Doctor en Filosofía por la Universidad Nacional de México. Ha ocupado los puestos de Secretario y Subdirector de este *Instituto*. Desde el 1º de octubre de 1960 fue nombrado Director del mismo. Es autor de varios estudios sobre indigenismo y sobre el pasado prehispánico del México antiguo.

WENDELL OSWALT, norteamericano. Doctor en Antropología. Profesor en el Departamento de Antropología de la Universidad de California. Autor de varios estudios sobre temas relacionados con el problema de la aculturación de grupos subdesarrollados.

JOSÉ R. SABOGAL WIESSE, peruano. Ingeniero Agrónomo. Ha hecho investigaciones en su país sobre aprovechamiento de recursos naturales en zonas indígenas. Durante el año de 1960 bajo la dirección del *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano*, como becario de la OEA, ha realizado estudios acerca del desarrollo de comunidades indígenas.

EDITORIAL

NUESTRO OBJETIVO

El indigenismo interamericano, gracias a los trabajos de figuras extraordinarias como el Dr. Manuel Gamio, el Mariscal Rondón, el Prof. Moisés Sáenz, entre los desaparecidos y de otros muchos hombres prominentes que continúan la labor en la actualidad, es una realidad en la vida del Continente Americano. Existen Institutos Nacionales Indigenistas en Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, México, Nicaragua, Panamá Perú y Uruguay. En Argentina existe la Dirección Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas; en Brasil el Servicio de Protección a los Indios; en Costa Rica la Junta de Protección de las Razas Aborígenes; en El Salvador el Departamento de Alfabetización y Educación; en los Estados Unidos la Oficina de Asuntos Indígenas; en México la Dirección General del mismo nombre; en Paraguay la Asociación Indigenista y en Venezuela la Comisión Indigenista.

Además de estos organismos nacionales trabajan en favor de la población indígena, otras organizaciones entre las que pueden mencionarse la UNESCO, la FAO, la OIT, la OEA, así como el Instituto Lingüístico de Verano y diversas misiones religiosas.

Con todas las limitaciones, principalmente de carácter económico que indudablemente existen, puede afirmarse, no obstante, que funciona en todo el Continente una red de acción cultural en favor de más de 30 millones de seres humanos, descendientes de los antiguos americanos.

Fundado para actuar como centro de coordinación y colaboración en esta magna empresa, el *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* ha venido actuando a través de los años, manteniendo en contacto por medio de sus órganos informativos y de los varios congresos internacionales a todas esas organizaciones, tanto gubernamentales, como privadas.

Nuestro actual objetivo es reforzar la actividad del Instituto en lo que constituye su misión primordial. Es necesario conocer y difundir, en una especie de cuadro preciso y objetivo, cuál es la orientación, los éxitos y los fracasos, si es posible de todas las promociones indigenistas que se llevan a cabo actualmente en el Continente. Un segundo paso será precisamente confrontarlas con sentido objetivo y crítico para lograr su coordinación, aprovechando experiencias mutuas, en un plan de trabajos de carácter integral. De este modo el *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* podrá iniciar una colaboración directa y estrecha en el terreno de la práctica con sus varios filiales, los organismos nacionales del Continente.

Por una parte se promoverá el intercambio de técnicos y personas especializadas, sobre la base de becas, con el fin de lograr su ade-

cuado adiestramiento para trabajar en el desarrollo integral de comunidades indígenas. Esto, sin olvidar que existen en el Continente grandes diferencias, tanto desde el punto de vista ecológico, como cultural en las varias poblaciones indígenas. Como un ejemplo puede citarse el caso de los selvícolas de la gran Cuenca del Amazonas, cuyas formas de vida difieren por completo de las poblaciones que habitan en la región Andina, en Centro América, o en el Altiplano de México.

Por otra parte, es menester lograr que la iniciativa privada se interese de manera efectiva por participar en esta empresa de elevar las condiciones de vida de los ciudadanos indígenas de sus respectivos países. Para la iniciativa privada esto significará, ante todo, fomentar el desarrollo de la economía nacional y consiguientemente la apertura de nuevos mercados y aún de nuevos centros de producción, todo lo cual redundará a la postre en beneficio del desarrollo general del país. Además, con su participación directa, la iniciativa privada estará asumiendo la responsabilidad social que le corresponde, justificando así desde un nuevo punto de vista su existencia como colaboradora, al lado de los Gobiernos, en los programas de desarrollo económico.

Coordinada la realidad del indigenismo interamericano e incrementada su acción en el terreno de la práctica, podrá convertirse éste en uno de los factores fundamentales para el desarrollo y la unión del continente americano. Marchar en pos de esto, en la medida de nuestras fuerzas, es precisamente nuestro objetivo.

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EDITORIAL

OUR OBJECTIVE

Inter-American Indianism, thanks to the work of such extraordinary figures as Dr. Manuel Gamio, Mariscal Rondón, Prof. Moisés Sáenz, among those now dead, and many other prominent men who are continuing the work, is a reality in the life of the American Continent. There are National Indian Institutes in Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and Uruguay. In Argentina there is the National Department of Indian Affairs; in Brazil, the Indian Protective Service; in Costa Rica, the Council for Protection of Native Races; in El Salvador, the Department of Literacy and Education; in the United States, the Office of Indian Affairs; in Mexico, the Department of the same name; in Paraguay, the Indianist Association, and in Venezuela, the Indianist Commission.

In addition to these national bodies, other organizations work in benefit of the Indian population; among them the UNESCO, the FAO, the ILO, the OAS, as well as the Summer Institute of Linguistics and various religious missions.

With all the limitations, principally of an economic character, which undeniably exist, it can be stated, nevertheless, that a network of cultural activity functions throughout the continent in benefit of more than 30 million human beings, descendants of the oldest Americans.

Founded to act as a center of coordination and collaboration in this great undertaking, the *Inter-American Indian Institute* has functioned through the years, maintaining contact among all these organizations, official as well as private, by means of its information organs and the various international congresses.

Our objective is to strengthen the activity of the *Institute* in what constitues its primary mission. It is necessary, therefore, to know and disseminate, if possible, within a precise and objective framework, what is the orientation, the successes and failures of the Indianist programs that are currently being carried on in the Continent. A second step will be that of reviewing them in an objetive and critical manner in order to coordinate them, utilizing common experiences, in a work plan of an integral character. In this way, the *Inter-American Indian Institute* will be able to initiate direct and close collaboration in the realm of practice with its various affiliates, the national organizations on the Continent.

On one hand, the exchange of technicians and specialists will be promoted, on the basis of scholarships and grants, in order that they may receive the proper training to work in the integral development

of Indian comminuties. This, without forgetting that great differences exist on the continent among the various Indian populations, from the ecological point of view as well as cultural. For example, there are the jungle-dwellers of the great Amazon Basin, whose way of life is completely different from that of the peoples who inhabit the Andean region, Central America, or the highlands of Mexico.

On the other hand, an attempt must be made to interest private enterprise in participating actively in this undertaking to raise the living conditions of the Indian citizens of their respective countries. For private initiative this will mean, above all, increased effort in developing the national economy with the resultant new markets and even new production centers, all of which sooner or later will act in benefit of the general development of the country. In addition, by direct participation, private initiative will be assuming its social responsibilities, thus justifying, from a new viewpoint, its existence as a collaborator, together with the governments, in the economic development programs.

Whit the coordination of the true situation of Inter-American Indianism and increased its activity in the practical field, it can be converted into one of the fundamental factors in the development and union of the American Continent. This is our objective, insofar as our resources permit.

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HISTORY OF NAVAJO EDUCATION

by WILLARD W. BEATTY

Sumario

El presente artículo estudia las vicisitudes por las que ha pasado la aculturación de los indígenas navajos, que constituyen una de las tribus más importantes de los Estados Unidos y pueblan la región limítrofe entre los Estados de Arizona y Nuevo México.

El autor describe los problemas a que se han enfrentado quienes se ocupan en elevar las condiciones de vida de este numeroso grupo de cerca de 80,000 miembros.

Uno de los principales éxitos en la lucha por la aculturación de los navajos, se debe al insigne estudioso Oliver LaFarge por el influjo que tuvieron sus libros *Laughing Boy* y *The Enemy Gods*, leídos por muchísimos norteamericanos. Estas publicaciones provocaron que otro escritor, Edwin Corle, publicara *People on the Earth*, en el mismo año y con el mismo tema: lo limitado de la educación que los Estados Unidos estaban ofreciendo a los navajos.

La marcha de la educación navajo estaba detenida por la dificultad de reducir los sonidos del idioma navajo al alfabeto occidental. Este problema se resolvió debido a que el lingüista John Harrington de la Smithsonian Institution, había hecho ya grandes adelantos en el conocimiento científico del idioma navajo. Su trabajo lo perfeccionó Oliver LaFarge y se tuvo así el alfabeto Harrington-LaFarge, que permitió publicar un periódico mensual en navajo, leído por cientos de indígenas.

La guerra trajo consigo otros problemas en el desarrollo de la aculturación de los navajos, debido a la carencia de alimentos y falta de transportes por la escasez de gasolina.

Después de haber vencido innumerables dificultades, la atención concedida a los navajos está dando los frutos esperados en el éxito que se ha obtenido al colocar a los estudiantes en empleos permanentes, una vez que se han graduado, y en el entusiasmo creciente de los miembros de este grupo por hacer suyos los adelantos técnicos que hoy consideran indispensables para elevar su nivel de vida.

Beginning of Navajo School Education

The History of Navajo Education is not a particularly new and unexplored topic. The Navajo Yearbook of Planning in Action has for some years carried a very interesting section outlining the history of Navajo education. Last year Mrs. Hildegard Thompson made an excellent presentation of the same topic to this same group. I realize that I can blaze relatively few new trails in what I have to say today.

The school education of Navajos began in an insignificant way in the early eighteen eighties with a few children enrolled in a rough school at Fort Defiance. This was about twelve years after the Navajo Treaty was signed in which the People promised to put their children in school, and the Federal Government made an equally solemn promise

that for not less than 10 years it would supply a classroom and a teacher for every 30 children that showed up. For the next 50 years the reluctance of Navajo parents to trust their children to the white man's school was matched only by the reluctance of the Federal congress to appropriate funds for the erection of adequate classroom facilities on the Reservation.

Americans are familiar with a scattering of rural populations. Almost from the beginning, American farmers have elected to build their homes on their farms rather than follow the European pattern of living in a small village and travelling out to the farm when work was to be done there. Throughout most of the Midwest, the land had been surveyed in a square pattern, with a criss-crossing of roads on the section lines. It is not unusual in a state like Iowa to find a small one or two-room rural school at each road intersection. Had such an easy pattern been possible on the Navajo Reservation, it would have been easy for congress to understand—and much easier to obtain appropriations for school construction.

Boarding Schools

However, the reservation is a tremendously large place and the people originally occupying it was small in number. Because they were herdsmen and it was necessary to move their sheep from place to place with the seasonal appearance of forage, concentrations of Navajos in any one spot were not great. In fact, those who were in one spot in the fall, were likely to be somewhere else in the winter, and possibly somewhere else again in the spring or summer. As a result, all of the earlier schools built on the reservation were boarding schools and Navajo children were also permitted to go to such off-reservation schools as Albuquerque, Phoenix, Fort Apache, and Sherman Institute —especially for the work which was considered trade-training in these early days.

Day Schools

With the coming of the big depression in the 30's, and the appropriation of substantial sums of money for construction enterprises which might be calculated to put unemployed people to work, the first large allotment of funds was made to the Indian Service for the specific purpose of building day schools on the Navajo Reservation.

Day schools had been recommended by Dr. Carson Ryan in the Education Section of the Meriam Survey, which was prepared during President Coolidge's last administration. When Commissioner Rhodes and Associate-commissioner Scattergood, appointed by President Hoov-

er invited Carson Ryan to take the post of Director of Indian Education, a man was picked who could be counted upon to make a contribution to the improvement of Navajo education when opportunity was presented. Such an opportunity occurred in the early days of the New Deal when several million dollars was made available for work projects on the Navajo Reservation.

Mr. Ryan selected Richard Tisinger, who had been an educational supervisor in Southern Arizona, as one of three men to pick sites for some forty or more day schools to be built in key places throughout the Reservation. A careful, although rapid, survey of the Reservation was made and sites chosen where, at the particular season of the year when the survey was made, it appeared that there were enough available Navajo children of school age in the near neighborhood to fill one, two, three, or more classroms as the case might be. This was really the first time that a concerted effort was made to provide adequate classrooms and pleasant living facilities for the teachers and other employees who (it was expected) would be called upon to occupy and operate these particular schools. And, as part of Mr. Ryan's plans, was created a new type position for Indian education—that of the day school assistant who, it was determined early in the planning, must be an English-speaking Navajo.

One of the important jobs that had to be met by the Education Division as these schools neared completion, was to find enough Navajos and their wives on the reservation who had been educated at Albuquerque or Sherman, or some other similar school, so that they could serve with a degree of success as bus drivers, cook, and matrons for these new schools.

All of the evidence points to the fact that Mr. Ryan and Commissioner Collier were much more excited over the prospect of getting Navajo children into the new day schools than were the Navajo parents, for whose children the schools were designed. In building a new school in an ordinary American community, it is believed that it should be located on a road that will permit the children to walk to school or to travel to school by bus if necessary, and also will provide a road over which school supplies can be transported. As there were very few roads of any kind on the reservation in the early 30's, it is not surprising that the majority of these new schools were not on a paved road. In most cases they were to be reached by a trail blazed out by a bull-dozer of the men who built the school.

Social and Economic Problems of the Reservation

The building of these new day schools coincided with a lot of other

changes on the reservation, for Commissioner Collier was determined to meet head-on and attempt to solve a number of the major social and economic problems of the reservation. One of the first steps taken was the abolition of the original Five Agencies and the establishment of a general superintendency at a new center being erected at Window Rock. The wide-spread drought which extended from Oklahoma on the east and the Dakotas on the north, down into the Navajo country reduced the reservation forage. The many sheep, horses, cattle, and goats who were trying to glean a living from the relatively barren acres of the Navajo Reservation led to serious over-grazing, which was destroying much of the lean cover which still existed on the reservation. This was a technical problem not easy for the illiterate non-English speaking Navajos to understand. Their flocks constituted their basic food and also their basic economy.

The solution to these Navajo problems was complicated by the fact that our Federal Government runs in 4-year cycles, bounded by election years. The people who had been appointed by Mr. Roosevelt at the time of his first election, were quite confident that they knew what needed to be done on the Navajo Reservation, but they suffered from the unfortunate suspicion that they might have to accomplish all of the things they wanted to do for the Indians during a period of 4 years. In the event that Mr. Roosevelt would not be re-elected in 1936, they wanted to make sure that certain basic and important changes would have taken place on the reservation, which could not very well be reversed.

As a result, the Navajos were confronted with a variety of massive changes and proposed changes in their reservation environment which they did not understand, which frightened them and which aroused their hostility. One faction of this "New Deal for Indians" was telling them that they had to get rid of their horses and their unproductive cattle and goats and greatly reduce the number of sheep which they were grazing on the reservation. This sounded like mass suicide. Another faction was telling them that the children, whom they had depended upon to shepherd these flocks, must be taken away from productive activity and put in strange buildings called "schools", which the parents didn't think would help anybody.

Oliver La Farge's books

It is probably fortunate that in this period between 1929 and 1940 most Navajos couldn't read, because beginning with the first date one of their best friends, Oliver LaFarge the novelist, wrote a story called *Laughing Boy*, which described the rather tragic experience of adoles-

cent Navajo youth who were educated away from their homes at Wingate Boarding School and who, at the conclusion of whatever education they got, found themselves unacceptable to their parents and friends on the reservation, and equally unacceptable in the white communities along the border of the reservation because they lacked adequate skill to fill any available jobs. *Laughing Boy* was read by many white Americans.

In 1937 Oliver LaFarge followed *Laughing Boy* with a longer and more bitter novel called *The Enemy Gods* which described the utter incompetence with which Sherman Institute in California prepared its Navajo students for return to the reservation environment or to find work away from the reservation. This situation which disturbed LaFarge so profoundly, also provoked Edwin Corle, another friend of the Navajo and an author of considerable stature, to publish *People on the Earth* in the same year, which told an almost parallel story of the unsuitability of the school education then being offered Navajo students.

About this time I began to be an active participant in the history of Navajo education. In the fall of 1935 Mr. Collier and Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, invited me to take a leave of absence from my school superintendency and make a survey of the Indian country to find out what kind of training I would recommend for the teachers then employed by the Bureau in order to produce a better and more effective brand of education for Indian children.

My first port-of-call in November 1935 was the Albuquerque Indian School. I came from there to Gallup where I met two men who gave a great deal of their lives to the well-being of Navajo students—Mr. Chester Faris, who had been superintendent at the Santa Fe Indian School, and Mr. Clyde Blair, who had been superintendent at the Albuquerque Indian School. Faris was then acting as first general superintendent to the United Reservation; Blair was the first director of the Navajo Education Program.

Most of the new day schools has been completed the previous summer and there was a rush to recruit enough teachers and Indian assistants to operate them. I spent four days in all on the reservation. The first night I traveled with Superintendent Faris to TeecNosPos to attend a tribal meeting, where a room full of Navajos expressed their consternation at what they understood to be the plans for reducing the number of live-stock on the reservation. I listened to a conscientious Navajo interpreter struggling to make sense of such difficult ideas as soil conservation, livestock breeding, the effect of over-grazing on an already inadequate ground cover, and all of the many factors which were involved in the problem. He couldn't help the Indians under-

stand, because he didn't wholly understand himself. That conflict of understanding was to be respeated again and again on the reservation in meeting after meeting between the Navajo Indians and the conscientious men who were trying to save their soil.

The next three days I spent with Clyde Blair visiting a variety of old and new schools. During the course of one of our trips, Clyde told me of his first experience in recruditing Navajo chidren for the Albuquerque School a number of years before. He and a Navajo policeman had started out in a buckboard darwn by two horses, and went from hogan to hogan looking for children. As they got in sight of a hogan and the Indians recognized who they were and guessed at their intentions, the children could be seen darting out of the hogan and running into the brush. Whereupon the Navajo policeman stood up in the buckboard and fired a shotgun into the air to scare the children and make them stop running—if possible. Then he jumped out of the wagon and ran after the children. If he caught them (and many times he didn't), he wrestled them to the ground, tied their legs and their arms, and with help from Mr. Blair put them in the back part of the wagon, where they lay until Blair had gathered in the quota for the day. Then they returned to the Albuquerque School and enrolled the children whom they had captured.

Problems of teaching the Navajo Children

Of course not one of these children could speak English or had the remotest idea of what was happening. All were probably terrified by the experiencie which they had just gone through. During that period there were no Navajo matrons who could understand the children when they asked to have things explained, and there was no one who could explain to the children why they had been taken from home and what was going to happen to them in the rather unattractive, barren barracks into which they had been plunged—away from the warmth and affection of their homes and parents.

Looking back on it, Mr. Blair realized how brutal and unreasonable the whole process had been; but at that stage, as he explained, they didn't know what else to do about the situation. They had received orders from Congress to get the Navajo children into school—the only way to do it was to go and get them. If you stopped to tell the parents why you wanted them, the children would be out of sight and you would never find them again. He was happy to return to the reservation when there was at least some understanding on the part of Navajos of what education meant.

An incident on the third day of my visit remains vividly in my

memory. I visited the new 2-room school at Pine Springs where 60 children ranging in age from what appeared to be about 6 years to about 16 had been gathered together. There were two very nice girls from New York State who had been hired as teachers. None of the children knew any English and none of the teachers knew a world of Navajo. The younger children were in one room called "first grade". The older children were in another room called "second grade". And the teachers had gotten together a primer for each first gader and enough second readers for the other room. But alas, noone could read. The only persons who were able to give any help were the Navajo cook and her husband who drove the school bus and took general care of the building. I learned on that occasion many things that I applied after I became Director of Indian Education.

Now that was a pretty desperate situation. Yet that was happening all over the Navajo Reservation. It wasn't just a group of 60 children who didn't understand what the teachers were trying to do. There were forty other groups who were similarly brought together without the remotest possibility of their understanding what it was all about. Something had to be done.

At that time I was the last person in the world who expected to be called upon to administer the Indian educational program. However, the invitation was extended to me by Secretary Ickes and I had found the challenge of need on the reservation and elsewhere so great that I could not refuse this invitation. I felt that my biggest job as to find an effective way to deal with the many non-English speaking students who were coming to the new day schools. The first step was taken at a summer school for Indian Service teachers and day school assistants held in June and July of 1936 at Wingate School. I persuaded a remarkable teacher from the Milwaukee State Teacher's College in Winconsin to demonstrate what could be done in a period of six weeks to teach non-English speaking Navajo children to begin to use the English language. This remarkable woman was Mrs. Lola Hughes and she successfully proved that it could be done. Her demonstration classes, fortunately, were crowded with teachers from the Navajo reservation who began to realize that there was a solution to their intricate and difficult problem.

At that summer school I also met with the Navajo men and women who were acting as Indian assistants in the many day schools. I found them very anxious to help, but feeling their inadequacy to meet the problems which they were called upon to solve. Even though they had spent 8 years in one of our older non-reservation boarding schools, they found themselves ill prepared in the English language to serve

as interpreters in the many situations which were bound to arise in the new day schools.

That year, out of about 15,500 Navajo children of school age, only about 6,600 were attending schools of any kind—in other words, only a little over 40 % of the children of school age were in school.

The average Navajo parents felt that a school education was a relatively useless thing, so far as they could see. If it was good, they believed that the value should be spread over as many children as possible, and no child should be kept away from his chores with the sheep any longer than necessary. Therefore, it was not at all unusual to find that a family with 5 or 6 children would send one child to school for a few weeks, then keep him home and send his brother for a couple of weeks, then send a sister, and so on throughout the year, thus providing two or three weeks' school attendance for each child in the family. The natural result of this kind of school attendance was that none of the chidren really learned anything, and the problem for the teacher was multiplied by the number of different children who showed up at different times.

Another difficulty grew out of the fact that the day school program was inaugurated at the same time that the stock reduction program was undertaken. In the minds of the Navajo parent the two things were interlocked. When they wished to express to the government their dissatisfaction with the stock-reduction program, an effective way to do it appeared to be to boycott the schools. One of their best educated leaders, Mr. Jake Morgan, who later became tribal council chairman, was one of those who preached this to the Navajos. He toured the reservation urging a strike against the schools as the best means of stopping the stock-reduction program. In some areas, fortunately, these anti-school strikes were of short duration and children came back to school. But we couldn't always be sure that they were the same children who had been attending before the strike or whether they were new children because they seemed to have forgotten most of what the teachers believed they had taught before the children stayed away for the strike. In other areas, most of the children were kept home and it became necessary to close some of the schools. I have often been asked why we didn't use Indian police to bring the children back to school, and my answer is that had we done so, I believe that the tension on the reservation might have resulted in rioting.

Despite the improvement in teaching techniques and the surprisingly rapid advance being made by many of the students, it proved impossible to fill all of the classroom seats for any year furing the first ten years that the day school program was in effect.

School bus problems

We also ran into school bus problems. In most parts of the United States school children walk to certain bus stops along the road and wait for the bus. This requires a time schedule. The average Navajo family did not possess a clock and could see no particular reason for getting up early in the morning to get the children off to meet the school bus. In order to get his normal quota of bus riders, the average Navajo bus driver began to extend his route, driving from hogan to hogan. Sometimes he had to go into the hogan and wake up the child who was enrolled in the school and hustle him out to the bus in order to get him to school at all. This meant that most of the children arrived at school without any breakfast and it became necessary to serve breakfast as well as a lunch in order to keep the children awake and properly nourished in order to do any kind of work in school.

While this kind of bus service was possible in fair weather, it created a very serious problem during some of the heavy "male" rains. As the bus slogged along through the mud, it created ruts which served as channels for heavy run-off of water. Sometimes when the bus returned in the afternoon to bring the children back from school, it found instead of a rough road a newly created gulley, and would have to start a new road alongside. Ten years of such operation convinced both the educational leaders on the reservation and many of the Indians that day schools were simply not practical. However, there was strong opposition on thepart of Congress to operating these schools as boarding schools, because that would involve building additional dormitories.

During this period there were places on the reservation where the Navajo parents had become convinced that their children should be in a school and we had requests for the building of additional schools. However, when it was suggested to the budget bureau that money be appropriated to additional schools, these requests were refused because it was easily proved that the Branch of Education had failed to fill the seats in the schools which had already been built!

Shortly after becoming Director of Education, I found that the problem of communicating with non-English speaking Navajos in connection with the soil conservation work had been appreciated by Mr. Collier and representatives of the Soil Conservation Service. Two leading American linguists had been approached to find out what might be done to create a written form of the Navajo language. Dr. Gladys Reichard of Columbia University had spent two summers on the reservation operating some classes for interpreters and she had endeavored to teach them how to write the Navajo language with an alphabet she had devised. Dr. Edwin Sapir of Yale University and

Father Berard Haile of St. Michael's Mission had also been concerned with recording Navajo speech and had developed a somewhat different alphabet, which they were teaching to some of the Catholic Indians at the mission school who had been helping Father Berard.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL READERS

Early in the day school program we learned that the average public school reader was relatively useless on the Navajo reservation, because many of the more modern stories dealt with episodes in non-Navajo life with which the children on the reservation could not possibly be acquainted. For instance, most of the readers had stories about postmen delivering mail to houses in a city; about postmen delivering mail to houses in a city; about policemen guarding the children at street crossings on the way to school; about the use of stop-lights descriptions of streetcars and buses carrying people to work in cities; stories about firemen and fire engines; shopping in stores like Woolworth's Five and Ten; travelling across the ocean on a transatlantic liner; and other matters of that kind, which while relatively common knowledge to the average American in the cities of the country, meant absolutely nothing to either Navajo children or most of their parents.

While we had no idea of permanently isolating Navajo children from this kind of reading matter, it certainly was not the kind of stuff with which to teach the concept and technique of reading. Reading to be meaningful, has to be about things with which the children are already more or less familiar. Therefore, with the help of a number of people among whom Mrs. Ann Clark was I believe the most noteworthy, we began the creation of a series of simple primers and readers about experiences common on the Navajo reservation. I believe that everybody here must be familiar with the *Little Man* series by Mr. Enochs who had been a teacher on the Navajo reservation; *The Navajo Life* series, which was prepared by Mrs. Hildegard Thompson while she was Director of Navajo Education, and the *Little Herder* series written by Mrs. Clark. Some of these books were the finest type of children's literature and quotations from them will be found in many children's anthologies. All dealt with experiences which would be understood by children on the reservation.

I was also convinced that if we were to produce readers about Navajo life for the children in our schools, using both an English and a Navajo text, a great many of the children might gain a clearer understanding of the English story and also would pick up the correct reading of Navajo from these textbooks without a great deal of emphasis

on the part of the teacher. So all of the early editions of these books were printed in both English and Navajo. While John Harrington of the Smithsonian Institution engineered the earlier translations, I soon discovered that a young linguist working on his doctorate and living on the reservation, was the person actually making the translations. He was Robert Young, who is now Assistant to the Navajo Reservation Superintendent.

We have reason to believe that a number of children at least learned the principles upon which the writing of their own language was based. Of course for a good many of the children the Navajo text was without significance.

A Newspaper in the Navajo language

Our main purpose of course, had been to reach the older men and women on the reservation with an understanding of governmental policies. To achieve this we therefore undertood to publish a monthly newspaper in the Navajo language. This periodical, like bilingual newspapers in many areas, carried the major stories in Navajo with a brief English summary of each article. It was thus understandable to those who could read Navajo and also helpful to those who read only English. During much of the time while we were attempting to make a written language out of Navajo, the government teachers had some effective support from the Wycliffe Bible translators who operated a school on the reservation not only to teach missionaries and Navajos how to read and write their own language, but also to teach other native languages to missionaries going out to work with non-literate people.

My own limited familiarity with what was being done elsewhere in the world in the education of non-literate peoples led me to believe that possibly one of the more effective ways of undertaking the beginning education of Navajos of all ages would be to teach through the Navajo language itself, and to assist as many Navajos as possible to read and write their own language. Learing of my interest in this problem, Mr. Collier dumped the whole Navajo language situation into my lap. I make no pretensions of being a linguist, but I have had a good deal of practical experience in the teach of reading and writing. I therefore began a rather intensive study of the alphabets proposed by Drs. Reichard and Sapir and Father Berard.

Each of these scientists had developed a phonetic sytem of writing with a great many diacritical marks, so that a written page of their recorded interviews with Navajo Indians gave a pretty accurate picture of just what the language sounded like. But the written or printed

page looked as though somebody had spilled a shaker of pepper over the text.

From my experience with European languages which use a great many diacritical marks, I had become convinced that most of these marks were of no particular help to anybody who knew how to speak the language. They continued to be used because nobody had the courage to do away with them.

Harrington-LaFarge alphabet

While I was exploring the problem I discovered that Mr. John Harrington of the Smithsonian Institution also had been doing a good deal of work with the Navajo language. When I talked with him, I found someone who agreed with me that it should be possible to write the Navajo language either without and diacritical marks at all or with a very few at the most.

Navajo differs from most European languages in that it is a tonal language somewhat like Chinese where the same work spoken with a rising inflection or with a falling inflection may mean different things. However, there did not seem to be any sounds in Navajo which could not be reproduced by letters of the Roman alphabet. I felt it was very important, if any amount of publication in the Navajo alphabet was to be undertaken, that only one alphabet be in use on the reservation; so I brought Father Berard and Mr. Harrington together in my office in the hope that we could agree on an alphabet satisfactory to both men. After 4 or 5 hours of discussion, there was mutual agreement to use an alphabet very similar to the one which was finally used in government publications. But after Father Berard returned to the reservation and reviewed his own phonetic work, he informed us that regretfully he could not continue to collaborate with us.

I then discovered that Oliver LaFarge was also a linguist and had given a great deal of thought to developing a Navajo alphabet. So I brought LaFarge and Harrington together and after several days of conference, the two men agreed on a simplified alphabet which we called the Harrington-LaFarge alphabet, which was adopted for official use.

One of our important goals was to persuade the interpreters on the reservation that they would make a far better job of interpreting the rather difficult speeches with which they were confronted, if they sat down with an English text and carefully wrote out a Navajo translation. If one did that and then got together with another interpreter, it should be possible to straighten out any misunderstanding which might have crept in to the initial interpretation. Then as the

speech was made in English, the interpreter could read from his Navajo transcript with the assurance that he would be telling the listener exactly what it was that the speaker wished to convey. I'm afraid we never got very far with that particular objective, because the interpreters were always too busy to sit down and learn to use the alphabet. A number of Navajos did learn it, however, and a number of things were produced in written Navajo. At a number of Indian Service summer schools either Dr. Edward Kennard or Dr. Robert Young who were familiar with these lingustic problems, offered courses for Navajo classroom teachers dealing with the differences in structural forms between English and Navajo. Those teachers who attended the classes appeared to have a greater success in handling speech problems after the experience than previously, even though they had learned very little usuable spoken Navajo.

I understand that at this time a number of public school teachers are encountering the same kind of problems in teaching little non-English speaking Navajos the structure of the English language, and that they have been asking for some help in the solution of these problems. I have always felt that a few hours taken to learn enough about the Navajo language to enable teachers to identify the problems which might arise, could save many hours of teaching time and assist them to develop a much more effective line of attack for Navajos trying to learn English.

However, it must be confessed that there were almost as many factors operating to defeat the successful introduction of a written Navajo as there were reasons in its favor. (500 subscribers to the Navajo newspaper.)

While many traders on the reservation have learned to speak enough Navajo to do business with their patrons, none of them have seen any value in being able to write the language, largely because the Indians themselves couldn't read it. What they wanted (and they said so very vociferously, to the congressional committee during hearings on the long range Navajo development program) was the rapid development of Navajos who could speak and write English, and they seemed to feel that any time spent on dealing with the Navajo language as such was bound to delay the effectiveness with which the use of English could be taught. Despite the fact that Britain, France, Spain, and our own Puerto Rico have found that there is much value to conducting the first year or two of education for similar groups in the native language, there were many Americans who knew very little about education but who were very much concerned with accomplishing practical objectives who practically pushed the teaching of Navajo out of the picture in order to get ahead with the teaching of English.

Even many of the reservation administrators who would have profited in their communications with adult Navajos if their interpreters had been able to make a free translation of their speeches were too anxious to make the speeches (whether anybody understood them for not) to be willing to wait for an adequate written translation.

I may be spending too much time on this particular aspect of Navajo education, but after leaving the Indian Service and spending some years abroad with UNESCO, I am more than ever convinced that the things which we tried to do in the matter of reading and writing Navajo were sound and that the Indian Servicewould be further ahead with the whole program of teaching Navajos to read and write English, if it had not abandoned work with the Navajo language itself.

With the passage of the draft act at the outbreak of World War II, the Navajos along with all other Americans became liable to military service and draftboards were set up on the reservation. For the first time many Americans became aware of the numerically small number of Navajos who were competent in the English language. They also learned, to their dismay, of the large number of Navajos who were suffering from tuberculosis and were otherwise unable to serve their country. These facts were equally unpalatable to the Navajos who showed a surprising loyalty to their country and a desire to serve it on the fields of battle as we ourselves became involved in the war. Recognizing the need to strengthen the Navajos comprehension of English if they were to be inducted, the staff of the Wingate School, under the leadership of Bob Young began an intensive program of teaching the Navajos spoken English, so that they might get on more effectively in the army when they were drafted. However, as the involvment of the United States in the war became increasingly serious and the number of Navajos who had to be rejected for lack of English increased, there was overwhelming demand that those your navajos and those members of the Wingate staff who were assisting with this program of giving Navajos some understanding of English, be drafted along with all of the other people of their age bracket. I protested to the Army Special Services Unit that they would render ineffective our preparation of Navajos for army service. I was told that the army was running special language schools at 2 or 3 of the induction centers which they believed would be adequate to meet the Navajo language problem. With that, our entire staff of instructors at Wingate was drafted and scattered to the 4 winds of the Pacific front, Navajos were then drafted whether or not they understood English and were shipped of to induction centers in Texas or California which were working with the language problem. Unfortunately, no one working at those particular centers had the slightest understanding of the

structure of the Navajo language. After a few months in the English classes at these centers during which the Navajo Indians made practically no progress, they were sent back to the reservation with discharge papers because it had been decided that it was not possible to train them. The Army Special Services then asked the Indian Service what particular system it had been using to teach Navajos English. We pointed out that practically all of our skilled instructors had been drafted and that if the army could get them back from wherever they had been sent, they could probably organize as good a language school as we had had. They secured from us the names of many of our Navajo instructors and brought a number of them together at March Field in California, to which Navajos were sent thereafter, and a great many effectively trained for war service.

New problems during the war

During the war, with the shortages of gasoline and tires, it became necessary to terminate bus services to the Navajo day schools. The responsibility was thrown back on the Indian communities as to whether the schools were to be operated or not. This brought them face to face with the fact that if they wanted to operate these schools as boarding schools they would have to make some local effort to bring this about. A surprisingly large number did reach the conclusion that this was not only desirable but necessary. Many local communities on the reservation offered the use of chapter houses, built hogans, and in other ways improvised dormitories for use by the younger children. In the absence of funds to employ dormitory supervisors, a large number of cooperative mothers volunteered their services to supervise these dormitories.

The Educational Division also lacked funds to feed the children the necessary 3 meals a day. In many communities the parents contributed sheep and vegetable from their own farms and herds to supply the necessary fundamentals for 3 meals a day. Thus at the close of the war there probably were more children actually attending the schools on the reservation than there had been at any previous period.

Probably not more than 4,000 Navajo men and women actually served in the armed forces. But these young people returned to the reservation apparently convinced of 2 things: (1) If you wanted to get ahead in the world, you had to be able to speak and understand the English language; (2) The rapidity with which you would get ahead depended upon how well you had learned to read and write and how much education you had had. Therefore, for the first time in history there began to be a demand for education for young Nava-

jos who had never been to school. Soon, all of the available places in the reservation schools and in the nearby non-reservation schools, were filled with Navajo children seeking an education.

As Navajo children flooded into the reservation schools it became quickly apparent that these schools were going to prove entirely inadequate to meet these new demands. Almost simultaneously with this realization, Mrs. Thompson, Mr. George Boyce (at that time Director of Navajo Education), and I came to the realization that if we met the demands of Congress that every child approximately 6 years old were enrolled in a reservation elementary school there would still be somewhere around eight to ten thousand adolescents between 12 and 18 years of age who would grow up to be untrained illiterates. While they might become skillful in meeting the requirements of live on the reservation, they would not be qualified to earn their living away from the reservation. We were particularly sensitive about this latter factor because the reports of the Department of Agriculture, the Geological Survey, and other agencies connected with the Department of the Interior indicated that the reservation resources were not adequate to support more than about half of the estimated 65,000 population of the reservation.

Post-war period

Manifestly there was no way of taking care of these older students on the reservation. The only places which seemed to be sufficiently elastic to meet this problem were in the non-reservation high schools which had been reduced in enrollment because a large number of the older boys and girls had gone into war work. In the immediate post-war period these older students were not returning, and the younger students applying for admission were not sufficient to fill the vacancies. There was therefore pressure in Congress to reduce the authorized enrollment in these schools—which once reduced might prove very difficult to have restored. One of these schools which had previously enrolled a number of Navajos was Sherman Institute.

If we assumed an average age of 15 for these potential students, it appeared that we might be able to hold them in school approximately five years before they would become restless and insist on finding work. Would it prove possible toteach such a group of students enough in five years so that they could become effective in English conversation, and also give them a saleable skill which would secure them employment away from the reservation?

We were determined that we would not only equip these students for jobs, but that because of the over crowded condition on the reserva-

tion, we would do our best to place them in permanent employment away from the reservation. The shades of LaFarge and Corle hung over us and we were determined that we'd produce no more "Laughing Boys."

To answer these questions, we brought together for conferences several other persons who were familiar with Navajo education. Miss Norma Runyan who had been one of the outstanding teachers at the Tuba school, and Miss Martha Hall, now at Window Rock, who had also been an outstanding teacher on the Navajo reservation were among those who gathered to plan a program which we hoped might prove effective.

As this was to be a "crash" program (to use a much over-worked word), it was necessary that everything we did with these students be effective with the least amount of waste motion. We had all believed that 30 non-English speaking students were too many for successful beginning work. We were also quite convinced that the sacred "direct method" of exposing them only to uninterpreted English was wasteful and ineffective, so we determined to limit classroom size to 25 students, staffed with one of the most competent teachers whom we could find, with the assistance of an English speaking young Navajo in the capacity of a teacher-interpreter. This teacher-interpreter would see to it that everything which transpired in the classroom was thoroughly understood by the Navajo youngsters. Every English phrase used by the teacher would be translated to the children so that they would know exactly what she was saying. Every Navajo child who did not understand what had taken place in the room or what he or she was supposed to do, was to raise a question through the teacher interpreter and receive an explanation in turn translated into his native language. This idea was of course in direct conflict with most of what was believed about the direct teaching of a foreign language. However all of us who had had experience with the problem were agreed that this was the fastest and most effective way to teach non-English speaking Navajos English in the shortest possible time. The results of our program proved to our satisfaction many times over that we had been right.

To establish a pilot project we selected Sherman Institute which was reasonably close to the Navajo Reservation and where there were between two and three hundred vacant places. We began immediately the recruitment of unusually competent teachers from Navajo Reservation schools. By limiting the number of students per class to 25 we believed that we would be safe to undertake eight such groups or a total of 200 Navajo students. During the spring of 1946 we began to publicize our intentions on the reservation, sending speakers to

meeting after meeting of Navajo groups to tell them what we were prepared to do for this adolescent group and emphasizing that we intended to train such students for off-reservation living. We requested that only students who were prepared to spend the full five years in the program be enrolled. We also emphasized the fact that this program was for the older children who had no English and had not previously been in school.

The Santa Fe Railroad agreed to run a special train to Sherman Institute and arranged to pick up children at Wingate and at Flagstaff. While we stressed again and again that we would have to limit our enrollment to 200 students, 290 children managed to get on the train —and we decided to handle them after they got to Sherman.

Of the initial group of 290, one hundred and one remained to complete the 5year program in 1951. That may seem a rather heavy drop out rate but the students were older, they were acquiring needed skills and as rapidly as these skills were acquired, many of them felt free to accept job openings which they had discovered on their own initiative during summer vocations. Other transferred to other Special Program schools as they were opened; some abler and more ambitious ones entered the regular high school programs at some other off-reservation schools.

A feature of the Special Program of which we are very proud, was the on the-job training period which occurred during the fifth or last year of the program. Myrthus Evans and Ed Samons at Sherman Institute made it their personal responsibility to arrange placement for every boy and girl during the last year of the Special Program in some kind of constructive and possibly permanent employment.

We were pleased to note that once a Navajo boy or girl had had on-the-job training with an industry or factory or an individual, that that student was often invited back to full time employment after graduation. The students themselves were the best advertisement of their suitability and competence.

While it was constantly repeated to the parents at home on the reservation that the objective of this program was to prepare Navajo adolescents for off-reservation life, there were many efforts to pull the students back to the reservation during the course of the program and even after successful employment had been achieved.

In the case of girls, the family often decided it was time for her to marry and had picked out a prospective bride-groom. In some cases the girls were agreeable; in many cases the girls didn't want to go and requested that the school interpose its influence with the parents to keep them in school. Such a problem posed a special difficulty for the school superintendent because we had stressed our desire to keep

in touch with the parents and carry out their whishes. On the other hand, sometimes we were forced to conclude that the best interests of the students demanded that we enforce the original agreement that the students was to remain in the school, graduate, and find employment away from the reservation.

During the first year of the Special Program at Sherman Institute, we gave the students carefully selected suitable tests to determine their rates of achievement. In many cases the boys and girls proved to have covered about three years of a normal elementary education program during their first year. We were sufficiently satisfied of the soundness of our program so that in the spring of 1947 arrangements were made to send additional groups of students to Sherman and to enroll others in Stewart Indian School in Nevada, Chilocco Agriculture School in Oklahoma, and Phoenix Indian School in southern Arizona for a similar program. This increased the enrollment of students to 915.

In the fall of 1948 Albuquerque Indian School, Chemawa Indian School in Oregon, and the much smaller Concho Indian in Oklahoma were added to the special program group with the total enrollment increased to 1,654. In 1950 all non-Navajo students were eliminated from Sherman Institute. Its Special Program enrollment increased to 600 Navajos. The Papago Indians, who had heard a good deal about the Special Navajo Program, also had a number of non-English speaking adolescents and asked to be permitted to share in this program. A hundred Papagos were admitted and this ratio has been continued.

Congress becomes interested in Navajo problems

Shortly after the start of this Special Program, Congress became increasingly interested in Navajo problems. A number of reports which lead toward a long range program for Navajo rehabilitation were begun. Among these was a thorough study of Navajo educational needs prepared in 1948 by Dr. George I. Sanchez of the University of Texas.

A prominent member of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee was Senator Arthur V. Watkins of Utah. The army had built a large general hospital at Brigham City in Utah which served for a brief period during the World War to accommodate a large number of crippled soldiers. At the close of the war the hospital was discontinued and it was declared surplus. Senator Watkins proposed that this be taken over as a boarding school for Navajo Indians. Edward Pointon, Director of the Branch of Buildings and Utilities, and I inspected the buildings and decided that by considerable remodelling of wards into dormitories and the construction of a number of school buildings, this

plant could be turned into a boarding school for about 2,200 youngsters. It would become the largest coeducational boarding school in the world so far as we knew. The cost of this remodelling and additional construction amounted to about $3.750,000 which was appropriated by Congress almost without dissent. The remodelling was undertaken immediately and by the end of 1949 was near completion, and the Intermountain Indian School accepted 542 students in the Special Navajo Program. A total of 8,890 Navajo adolescents have been or are being exposed to the Special Programs. About 6,528 have been in classes which have graduated pupils between 1951 and 1958 inclusive of these, 2,808 remained the full five years to graduate—43 % of the total. This is good by any standard. A surprisingly large proportion of those who had remained the full five years to graduate, were happily and successfully employed—a majority of them away from the reservation as had originally been planned. Of the first four classes graduation from Sherman Institute, only 20 percent were either recorded as unemployment or were unavailable for a report; 50 percent were gainfully employed; 11 percent were in the armed forces; 5 percent were pursuing advanced education; and about 11 percent were girls who were married. For the Phoenix Indian School only 28 percent of all graduates are unemployed. The employment rate of Chemawa has run about 60 percent each year, and for Intermountain —about 70 percent.

Employment records

I have secured the graduation and employment records of each of the schools handling the Special Navajo Program and I am amazed at the success in placing these students in permanent employment at or after graduation. It has been particularly gratifying to hear these figures in the light of some of the discussions which we had had with the superintendents at the time the program was begun. At Chemawa the superintendent at first felt that it would be impossible to even consider securing permanent employment for Navajo graduates in the Portland area. Stewart Indian School felt that there was no market for any large number of Navajos in Nevada. Chilocco had never been successful in placing any large number of students in industrial employment in Oklahoma and did not see why there would be any greater success with Navajos. Intermountain School, with by far the largest enrollment of the entire group, was quite clear that there was no room in the Brigham City-Ogden area to absorb anywhere near its anticipated Navajo graduates.

The interesting thing is that when brought face-to-face with the

challenge of putting these students into successful employment, every one of these schools has found placement for from between 50 and 100 per cent of the students completing the course. To secure this success has often meant that the schools have had to go far afield. Stewart, for example, has had to canvas the Oakland-San Francisco area. Intermountain has placed students from Denver to San Francisco, and so on. But the facts are that the students have been successfully placed. And when I say that 60 percent of the students were employed that does not include the regular percentage of boys who were required to go into the armed services or the normal percentage of girls who married shortly after graduation, or those called home from off-reservation jobs to attend to family affairs. One other most interesting and desirable effect of this drive for successful placement of Navajo graduates has been the increased concern on the part of these same schools for similarly successful placement of other Indian graduates, and the success has been great.

This emphasis upon successful employment of students in the Special Program led practically all of these schools to encourage the students to earn money by odd jobs during the school year and to seek temporary employment during the summer vacation. Students at Sherman Institute, and at Phoenix, earned surprising amounts of money during the school year by afternoon and Saturday work. Students in all the schools sought and secured summer employment.

Training in thrift

Along with training in earning it became clear that we owed these students equal training in thrift. Therefore in 1948 and '49 we began to organize student banks in each of these schools and secured from the general accounting office a set of rules and regulations to follow to make these institutions an acceptable part of the educational program. As each of the special program schools faces a slightly different problem in the matter of handling earned monies by the students, I will cite merely a few statistics. At Sherman the class which graduated in 1952 had Saturday work earnings of $ 14,895 during the school year—the boys earning about twice as much as the girls. The Saturday work earnings of the class which graduated in 1958 had gone up to nearly $ 30,000 of which about $ 11,500 was earned by the girls. At Intermountain, on the other hand, there is very little opportunity for weekday or Saturday earnings, but during the summer of 1958 Intermountain students earned $ 23,931 which was banked upon returning to school. Chemawa students, between 1953 and '58, banked earnings of over $ 12,000—or $ 85.00 per pupil per year. At Stewart, where

there is very limited opportunity to earn money during the year, the students last year deposited $ 4,600—most of which appears to have come from summer earnings; in addition the students earned about $ 750 for week-end work during the school year. Figures become dreary so I shan't bore you further except to point out that there is ample evidence in school after school that the profligate Indian who is not supposed to know the value of money has apparently been acquiring this very important lesson in connection with the work of the Special Program. At Indian school after Indian school the lesson has carried over to students in the normal high school enrollment. As indicated earlier, the great need for the Special Program is ending, for the great majority of non-English speaking uneducated adolescents on the reservation has successfully acquired all or a portion of this training. The important lesson of this Special Program, however, persists.

It is clear that Indian students are potentially capable of far greater academic achievement than was generally assumed possible twenty years ago. They wish to learn swills and are capable of learning skills. They wish to earn money and are capable of earning it. And of saving it. And of investing it. Fortunately the lesson of all this has not been lost on the superintendents of the school which have had the Special Program and similar opportunities are being extended to their students in the regular programs.

The Navajo—Hopi long range rehabilitation program, signed into law by the President in April 1950, earmarked $ 25.000,000 for the construction of needed educational facilities on the reservation. This proposed program was not quite as generous as that called for in the Sanchez Report, but it nevertheless was designed to provide educational facilities for all elementary Navajo children in reservation or nearby public schools. There was still so much debate as to how many Navajos could make a living on the reservation and what provision should be made for Navajo high school graduates for their employment off the reservation, that no final decisions were made with regard to high school construction on the reservation.

Probably one of the more fortunate experiences for Navajo education, was the appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs of Mr. Glenn Emmons who, as a Gallup banker, was familiar with the needs of the Navajo Indians and determined to meet those needs. Despite all the talk about Navajo educational requirements that had taken place during the five or ten years previously, there were only about 16,000 Navajo children in school during 1953. Taking advantage of all the various suggestions which had been made for additional educational space for Navajos, Mr. Emmon's emergency program increased the

enrollment of Navajo children in school by about 50 percent the first year—or an increase from 16,000 to 24,500. Today, I am told, it is close to 27,000. Many of the physical facilities are temporary and it is acknowledged that a more permanent solution will be necessary in the near future. Still further plans must be made to care for the continuously increasing number of school-age Navajos who must be expected in the next few years. However, the current emergency program presents a vast achievement in meeting Navajo educational needs. The problem of language, the problem of suiting teaching materials to experience and understanding, the very great problem of keeping track of Navajo youngsters who have always been in the habit of shigting from place to place and from school to school, are all still with us. But the evidence at hand indicates that all are capable of solution and that the bold measures now being undertaken will undoubtedly contribute effectively to that solution.

As every Navajo knows, the close-knit tribal organization characteristics of many Indian tribes, such as their pueblo neighbors, has never existed among the Navajo. Their clan system has furnished a pattern controlling certain aspects of individual and group life; but there have not been any chiefs or rulers, either hereditary or elective. In the midst of the tourmoil brought about by the stock reduction program and the reorganization and unification of the Navajo agencies, the members of the tribe were called upon to make another vital decision on a subject little understood and quite difficult to understand. This had to do with the acceptance or rejection of the right to organize the tribe under the terms of the newly passed Indian Reorganization Act. This was an exceedingly intricate proposition and under any circumstances would have had to depend largely upon the confidence, or lack of confidence, of the tribal members in those representatives of the government with whom they were acquainted.

The decision had to be made at a time when the tribe had lost all confidence in the government, and many members were convinced that the sole purpose of the government and its agents was to destroy not only the welfare but the very existence of the tribe. Many friends of the Navajo in government realized that no more unauspicious time to make this decision could be chosen. However, in adopting the Indian Reorganization Act, Congress had set an arbitrary date by which time the tribes must vote either to accept or reject the act. As a matter of fact, the act was wholly beneficial to the needs and aspirations of the tribe; but in spite of that fact, in a reservation-wide election an almost equally balanced vote gave the opponents of the act a slight majority. Thus the tribe lacked the legal power to organize for many of the vital things which its members would wish to do in

the immediate future. In order to meet and solve the manifest problems which rushed upon the tribe within the next few years, it became necessary to secure piecemeal the necessary approval from the Secretary of the Interior to organize and do many of the things that had been contemplated under the original Reorganization Act. It was a slow up-hill struggle and in the end one may wonder whether or not the tribal structure which ultimately emerged may not have more nearly fitted the needs of the Navajo than the kind of structure envisioned in the Reorganization Act itself. Possibly one must add this education of the tribe in self government to the educational history of the tribe.

There isn't time to go into all of that one or two highlights I think deserve mention. One of these was the successful introduction of the universal ballot for the election of tribal officers. Superintendent Allan Harper, under Bob Young's guidance and the tribal leaders working with him, made a tremendous educational contribution to the solution of this problem when a ballot carrying the photographic likeness of each candidate was evolved. It has been my pleasure to spread the knowledge of this particular technique abroad and it has been adopted in several similar pre-literate societies.

Mr. Harper's administration is also to be credited with throwing a vast amount of responsibility upon a committee organization within the tribal council, to explore and make vital decisions on behalf of the members of the tribe. The early recognition of the fact that the business of the tribe was a tremendous enterprise and called for the full time of the elected representatives, led to the adoption of an adequate pay scale for these officers, which has attracted able men to the posts. This is in wise contrast to the early American rural attitude that has held that public officials should serve in their public posts without compensation while trying to make a living as well.

Conclusion

Navajo education is now entering a new phase which is characterized by a deep respect for public school education. This is quite a natural American evolution but it is not one from which any vast change in the nature of the educational program is to be expected and probably one which may result in a few serious setbacks, as the individual public school districts have to wrestle with basic problems involved in educating non-English speaking people with rather primitive conceptions of the modern world. It is to be hoped that the public school districts will be willing to take advantage of the vast amount of valuable experience accumulated by the Indian Service over the years of its work with Navajos. This should include use of the text-

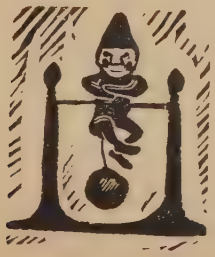
books which the Indian Service developed to facilitate easy reading by young Navajos, because their subject matter deals with experiences out of the children's own lives. Use of the very carefully prepared minimum essential goals which have evolved over a great many years of painstaking experimentation and evaluation of the Navajo educational program would undoubtedly be helpful.

Much of the argument which went into justification of public school education for Navajos placed emphasis upon the advantages of integration. Integration means the education of Indian children with white children. That is a very laudable objective—but a little difficult to realize in most parts of the Navajo reservation where there aren't any white children. So it would be wise to eliminate from our thinking any expectation that proximity white children will exercise any influence on the future education of a majority of Navajos.

It must now be realized that the value of any particular educational program developed in the new public school districts across the reservation will depend almost entirely upon the wisdom of the local school board members selected by the patrons of the school, and the competency of the teachers selected by these board members.

School operation by a federal bureaucracy far removed from the reservation may have its disadvantages. However, it has the advantage of attracting competent people as teachers, supervisors, and administrators drawn from all over the United States.

Few local school districts will have the benefit of such careful selection of competent personnel. This is just another episode in a fascinating and difficult evolution. The results, naturally, will neither be as spectacularly good as some proponent have anticipated nor as bad as some doubters have prophesied. I personally have full confidence that the Navajos will rise superior to the difficulties and profit from the advantages.



EL LEGADO INTELECTUAL Y LITERARIO DE LAS CULTURAS INDÍGENAS AMERICANAS*

—SU ESTUDIO Y DIFUSIÓN—

por MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA

Summary

The literary and intellectual heritage of the American Indian cultures, although very rich, has been little studied and is almost unknown. This is especially true with respect to cultures such as the Maya-Quiché, the Nahuatl (Toltec-Aztec) of Mexico and the Quechua of Peru.

This article, presented by the Sub Director of this *Institute* as a proposal in the IV Interamerican Indian Congress, demonstrates on one hand the origin and existence of the literary production of these Indian cultures, noting some of the principal studies made to date. The author's object is to show the necessity for a knowledge of this intellectual heritage reaching the general public, in order to achieve three objectives of great importance: 1) Knowledge of the pre-Hispanic intellectual culture on the part of the non-Indians which would help to awaken a greater appreciation for the native population, recognizing that it is capable of great creations. This would generate an even greater interest for participating in the undertaking of improving the living conditions of the descendants of those ancient creators of culture; 2) In addition, the national culture of the American countries will be enriched, by investigating even more deeply that which is their most ancient heritage: the Indian cultures. 3) Finally, from the viewpoint of social anthropology, knowledge of these pre-Hispanic intellectual culture creations, is indispensable as a fundamental basis to make closer contact with the present Indian mentality.

This proposal, upon being approved by the Congress, resulted in Resolution XXVI, which embodied special recommendations for achieving a greater diffusion and knowledge of this pre-Hispanic intellectual patrimony.

Mayor es cada día el interés que provocan los descubrimientos arqueológicos de las grandes culturas americanas. Lo que se conoce actualmente, en particular los restos de las ciudades prehispánicas del Altiplano Andino, así como los grandes centros rituales edificados por las culturas de Mesoamérica, ha sido suficiente, a los ojos de historiadores e investigadores de la cultura universal, para incluir a los pueblos prehispánicos de América entre los grandes creadores de cultura.

* Ponencia presentada ante el IV Congreso Indigenista Interamericano celebrado en la Ciudad de Guatemala, C. A., del 10 al 26 de mayo de 1959. Esta Ponencia dio lugar a la Resolución XXVI del Congreso, que se transcribe al final de este artículo.

Pero todavía hay más, junto con la arquitectura prehispánica, se han hallado y estudiado incontables obras de arte: estatuas de dioses y hombres, pinturas murales, trabajos en oro y plata, obras de jade, así como una rica cerámica que auna en sí formas y colores maravillosos. Por otra parte, gracias principalmente a los cronistas e historiadores de Indias, se conocen no pocos aspectos de la antigua forma de vida de esos creadores de culturas en la época prehispánica. Se sabe por ejemplo, que fue extraordinaria la organización social y política de los incas; que los mayas poseyeron una escritura y un sistema astronómico y calendárico en muchos aspectos más perfecto que el nuestro; que los toltecas del Centro de México fueron grandes artistas y que los aztecas, en menos de cien años lograron imponerse como señores absolutos de buena parte del México antiguo.

Pero, en tanto que se estudian los hallazgos arqueológicos y los datos aportados por los cronistas, se ignora en la mayoría de los casos que es también posible conocer el pensamiento y la producción literaria, netamente prehispánicas de varias de esas culturas americanas. Y esto no obstante que, al menos de las culturas que alcanzaron mayor desarrollo, como son la incaica, la maya-quiché y la náhuatl del Altiplano Central de México, hay documentación abundante en las respectivas lenguas indígenas con producciones de cultura intelectual precolombina.

Origen de los textos literarios de las culturas indígenas americanas

No es éste ciertamente el lugar para ensayar un estudio crítico de los incontables documentos indígenas en que se conserva buena parte del legado intelectual precolombino. Bastará con mencionar, a manera de ejemplo, que en las culturas maya-quiché y náhuatl del Altiplano Central de México, *existieron varios sistemas de escritura, principalmente ideográficas e incipientemente fonética.* Igualmente había en esas culturas arraigados sistemas de educación, gracias a los cuales se transmitía en forma oral y sistemática, con ayuda de sus códices o libros prehispánicos, su pensamiento religioso, su historia, sus discursos morales y leyendas, etc.

Llegados los españoles, no pocos sabios nativos, conocedores del rico legado cultural, preservado tanto en sus códices como por la vía de tradición oral, aprendiendo el alfabeto latino, se consagraron a la tarea de transcribir en él los textos prehispánicos en idioma indígena. Tal es el modo como trabajaron los informantes indígenas de Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, el grupo de historiadores de Tlatelolco que

redactó el manuscrito náhuatl de 1528, los numerosos Chilam Balamoob del mundo maya y los autores de otras muchas relaciones en quiché, mixteco, maya y náhuatl.

La mayoría de esos textos en lenguas indígenas se conservan hoy día principalmente en archivos y bibliotecas de Europa y los Estados Unidos. Entre las bibliotecas que conservan mayor caudal de códices y documentos en lenguas indígenas pueden mencionarse la Biblioteca Nacional de París, la Biblioteca Vaticana de Roma, la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid, la Bodleiana de Oxford, la del Congreso de Washington, así como el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, etc.

Mas, no obstante hallarse la mayor parte de tan valiosos documentos fuera de su lugar de origen, siempre ha sido posible obtener reproducciones en microfilm o en transparencias a colores para llevar a cabo su paleografía y posteriormente su traducción y estudio.

Trabajos llevados a cabo

A pesar de ser grande el desconocimiento de la rica mina que hay en esos textos para estudiar la antigua cultura intelectual prehispánica, ha habido algunos pocos investigadores que desde la segunda mitad del siglo pasado se han consagrado a su estudio. A modo de ejemplo, pueden citarse los nombres del Abate Brasseur de Bourbourg, quien ya en 1861 publicó en París la primera edición del *Popol Vuh*, con el subtítulo de "El libro sagrado y los mitos de la antigüedad americana". En México trabajaron en la publicación de ediciones facsimilares de documentos indígenas, distinguidos investigadores como D. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso y D. Antonio Peñafiel. Más tarde un grupo de alemanes, encabezado por el Dr. Eduardo Seler y del que formaron también parte Walter Lehmann y Leonhard Schultze Jena estudiaron y publicaron con traducción al alemán textos de tanta importancia como los *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, el *Manuscrito Náhuatl de 1558*, el *Libro de los Coloquios*, algunos textos de los informantes de Sahagún y otra versión del *Popol Vuh*.[1]

[1] He aquí la lista de los textos más recientemente publicados con traducción al alemán, por la Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de Berlín:

Lehmann, Walter, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Culhuacan und Mexico*, Stuttgart, 1938.

Schultze Jena, Leonhard, *Popol-Vuh. Das heiliges buch der Quiché Indianer von Guatemala*, Stuttgart, 1944.

Lehmann, Walter, *Sterbende Götter un Christliche Heilsbotschaft* Stuttgart, 1949.

Schultze Jena, Leonhard, *Wahrsagerei, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken*, Stuttgart 1950.

En fecha más reciente otros estudiosos como el distinguido guatemalteco Dr. Adrián Recinos, el francés Georges Raynaud y el mexicano Alfredo Barrera Vásquez, continuaron editando textos de la cultura maya-quiché.[2] Y respecto de la cultura náhuatl, en México el Dr. Angel Ma. Garibay K., ha venido a descubrir nuevas vetas documentales de máxima importancia para el estudio de su literatura y pensamiento prehispánicos.[3] Dentro de esta misma línea de estudios pueden mencionarse los varios volúmenes del *Códice Florentino*, que han venido publicando desde 1950 los Dres. Charles E. Dibble y Arthur J. O. Anderson, bajo el patrocinio de la School of American Research de Santa Fe, Nuevo México.

Algunas muestras de la literatura quechua las ha dado a conocer el Prof. Jesús Lara; [4] del mundo guaraní conocemos asimismo algunos textos y poemas debidos a la investigación de don Natalicio González.[5] Finalmente, por lo que se refiere a los pueblos indígenas de los Estados Unidos, deben mencionarse las varias recopilaciones de textos, casi todas ellas contemporáneas, que han publicado en las respectivas lenguas indígenas la Sociedad Smithsoniana y más recientemente el Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

No obstante todos los trabajos anteriormente mencionados, cuya enumeración bibliográfica pormenorizada ocuparía varias páginas, debe señalarse que esos estudios cubren tan sólo una mínima parte de la riquísima documentación existente. Además, la casi totalidad de es-

—, *Gliederung des alt-aztekischen Volks in Familie Stand und Beruf*, Stuttgart, 1952.

—, *Alt-Aztekische Gesänge*, Stuttgart, 1957.

Chimalpain Cuauhtlehuanitzin, Domingo, *Das Memorial breve acerca de la fundación de la Ciudad de Culhuacan*, Stuttgart, 1958.

[2] *Popol-Vuh*. Edición de Adrián Recinos. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1947.

El Libro de los Libros de Chilam Balam, Edición de Alfredo Barrera Vázquez. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1948.

Memorial de Sololá. Anales de los Cakchiqueles. Título de los Señores de Totonicapán. Edición de Adrián Recinos. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1950.

[3] Garibay K., Angel Ma., *Llave del Náhuatl*. Colección de Trozos Clásicos con gramática y Vocabulario. Otumba, México, 1940.

—, *Poesía Indígena de la Altiplanicie*, Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario, Nº 11, México 1940. Segunda edición: 1952.

—, *Historia de la Literatura Náhuatl*, Editorial Porrúa, 2 vols., México, 1953-1954.

[4] Lara Jesús, *La Poesía Quéchua, ensayo y antología*, Talleres Gráficos Olivieri y Domínguez, Cochabamba 1947.

[5] González, Natalicio, *Ideología Guaraní*. Prol. de Angel Ma. Garibay K. Ediciones Especiales del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México, 1958.

tos estudios por desgracia no son conocidos del público en general y constituyen una especie de mundo al que sólo penetran los especialistas. Ahora bien, el objetivo buscado al presentar estas ideas es precisamente lograr la difusión y conocimiento por parte del público en general y no ya sólo de los especialistas, de este legado cultural del mundo indígena americano.

Mayor difusión y estudio del legado intelectual de las culturas indígenas

Para lograr ésto, formulamos a continuación las siguientes proposiciones concretas:

1) Exponer a las varias facultades, principalmente de Filosofía y Letras de las Universidades del continente, la *importancia que tiene establecer en ellas cátedras y seminarios para el estudio de los textos indígenas, literatura y pensamiento,* de las grandes culturas americanas entre las que ocupan un lugar prominente *la maya-quiché, la quechua y la náhuatl.* Puede citarse, a modo de ejemplo, la organización del Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, creado por la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México en 1957, consagrado a la preparación de estudiantes que podrán llegar a especializarse en diversos aspectos de la cultura náhuatl, así como a la publicación de los textos clásicos indígenas en ediciones bilingües, náhuatl-español, de las que han aparecido ya varios tomos.[6]

2) Por su parte el Instituto Indigenista Interamericano que ha publicado ya algunas obras relacionadas con la cultura intelectual del mundo náhuatl y *del mundo guaraní,* se propone continuar el estudio y la publicación de esta clase de libros, invitando asimismo a sus filiales del Continente a colaborar en esta empresa.

3) Resulta también de gran importancia la publicación de ediciones populares que puedan lograr más amplia difusión en todo el Continente, haciendo llegar al gran público el legado intelectual y literario

[6] Ediciones del Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl. Instituto de Historia, U.N.A.M., México:

Garibay K., Angel Ma., *Veinte Himnos Sacros de los Nahuas.* (Fuentes Indígenas de la Cultura Náhuatl. Informantes de Sahagún, 2). Introducción, paleografía, versión y comentarios de... México, 1958.

León-Portilla, Miguel, *Ritos, Sacerdotes y Atavíos de los Dioses.* (Fuentes Indígenas de la Cultura Náhuatl. Informantes de Sahagún, 1). Introducción, paleografía, versión y notas de... México, 1958.

——, *La Filosofía Náhuatl, estudiada en sus fuentes,* 2ª edición, México, 1959.

Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl. Publicación periódica, Vol. I. Colaboraciones de Alfonso Caso, Angel Ma. Garibay K., Charles E. Dibble, Justino Fernández y otros. México, 1959.

de las culturas indígenas. Si esto se logra, se habrán obtenido simultáneamente dos objetivos más de gran importancia: primero, el conocimiento de la cultura intelectual prehispánica por parte de los no-indígenas, lo que ayudará a despertar en ellos mayor estimación por la población aborigen, reconociéndola capaz de grandes creaciones. Esto despertará aún mayor interés por conocer lo indígena y por elevar las condiciones de vida de los actuales descendientes de aquellos primeros creadores de cultura en el Continente Americano. Por otra parte —y esto constituye el segundo objetivo— la cultura nacional de los países americanos se enriquecerá y adquirirá cada vez más una fisonomía propia, resultado de ahondar en lo que constituye su más antigua raíz: las culturas nativas.

Finalmente, desde el punto de vista de la antropología social y aplicada, el conocimiento de las creaciones de cultura intelectual prehispánica, resulta asimismo indispensable como un antecedente fundamental para poder acercarse a la mentalidad de los aborígenes contemporáneos, en quienes sobreviven más o menos latentemente muchas de las ideas y actitudes de su antigua cultura prehispánica.

Resolución del IV Congreso

La presente Ponencia, al ser aprobada, dio origen a la Resolución XXVI del IV Congreso Indigenista Interamericano, que a continuación se transcribe:

XXVI. Conocimiento y divulgación del acervo cultural indígena

El IV Congreso Indigenista Interamericano,

Considerando: Que el legado cultural del mundo indígena americano no es conocido por el público y es un acervo cultural al que sólo penetran los especialistas;

Considerando: Que es indispensable una mayor difusión y conocimiento de dicho patrimonio intelectual,

Resuelve: 1º Recomendar a las Universidades del Continente establecer en ellas cátedras y seminarios para el estudio de los textos indígenas, literatura y pensamiento de las grandes culturas americanas.

2º Apoyar al Instituto Indigenista Interamericano para que continúe el estudio y publicación del inventario cultural indígena americano, e invitar a sus filiales para colaborar en dicha obra.

3º Recomendar al mismo Instituto la publicación de obras populares que puedan lograr amplia difusión del legado intelectual y literario de las culturas indígenas. (Aprobada el 25 de mayo de 1959.)

LA COMUNIDAD ANDINA DE PUCARÁ

por José R. Sabogal Wiesse

Summary

Pucará **is a Peruvian Andean Community located at 10,000 feet above sea level. Its climate is moderately cold and humid. It has a rainy season. The average amount of land held by each farmer is relatively small, about 7 acres per family. Principal crops are vegetables and cereals. In the higher parts there are sheep. But it is a fact that almost all the Pucarinos are farmers.**

The principal organization functioning in *Pucará* is the "Indian Community", a native institution, independent of the Government, they have coexisted since time immemorial.

Of particular interest are the changes that the Pucarinos have been showing. The true transformation begins when the young men study agriculture in Lima. Once they return to their place of origin, they begin to have a great success. Due to this acculturation process, the Community of *Pucará* constitutes an example in Perú. The relations between *Pucará* and the government offices are somewhat special, since the Pucarinos enjoy various prerogatives. In conclusion, *Pucará* is a town in the Andean zone in the process of acculturation, since it has already begun, on a firm basis, the process of improving its ancient living conditions.

Descripción

El distrito [1] de Pucará se encuentra situado en el confín meridional de la meseta conocida como el "valle de Xauxa".[2] Abarca laderas y colinas, y en la llanura de la parte baja está situada la aldea capital, que le da su nombre, con una población aproximada de 1,800 habitantes, y a 3,340 mts. Este distrito ocupa la totalidad de la cuenca del río Raquina, afluente por la margen izquierda del importante río Mantaro. Para tener una idea de su ubicación Pucará se encuentra a 324 kms. por carretera al E. de Lima, en el centro geográfico y económico del Perú.

La confederación de los "huancas" [3] hace entrar en la historia

[1] La República del Perú se divide políticamente en 24 departamentos, cada uno de estos en provincias, y cada provincia en distritos. Las subdivisiones convencionales (no oficiales) de los distritos en el valle del Mantaro son los anexos.

[2] Denominación tradicional de la llanura cultivada más extensa de todo el Perú (70,000 hectáreas planas sin solución de continuidad).

[3] Los huancas eran los naturales que ocupaban la zona central del Perú actual, y que fueron conquistados al comenzar el siglo xv por los ejércitos del Inca. La gente de la misma zona continúa autodenominándose de la misma manera, y con orgullo.

a Pucará, construyendo allí una fortaleza para defenderse de las invasiones provenientes del Sur. Y esto es lo que significa "pucará" en quechua, fortaleza, bastión o atalaya, nombre que constantemente vemos repetido en el Perú y en Bolivia. Son los quechúas que logran conquistar a los huancas, y construyeron uno de los caminos más importantes del Imperio de los Incas a través de Pucará.

En el siglo pasado Pucará hace honor a su nombre cuando la guerra del Pacífico, entre Chile, Perú y Bolivia. El ejército chileno sufre un descalabro serio en el distrito de Pucará, que los ancianos relatan todavía con lujo de detalles. El poblado actual se va formando también durante el siglo pasado, cuando se van erigiendo muchas posadas y las construcciones actuales. Para muchos viajeros significaba el último punto acogedor, antes de una larga ascensión a las frígidas punas,[4] y adonde necesariamente debían descansar y abrevar las acémilas.. Para ese entonces era un simple anexo del importante poblado de Sapallanga, una aldea de regnícolas venida a menos.

El distrito de Pucará colinda con las comunidades de Pazos (provincia de Tayacaja), Sapallanga y Huayucachi (provincia de Huancayo) y con las propiedades de la enorme Sociedad Ganadera del Centro. En general sus límites son todavía imprecisos. Se subdivide en los siguientes anexos: Cercado o Pucará, Pachachaca, Marcavalle, Raquina y Asca.

En la superficie ocupada por el distrito existen 2 comunidades de indígenas oficialmente reconocidas.[5]

El medio ambiente

El clima de Pucará en la parte baja, dedicada a la agricultura puede calificarse de templado frío, semi-árido.

La temperatura anual media a la sombra, puede estimarse en 12° centígrados. Sin embargo, la oscilación diaria es muy marcada, llegando en los meses invernales a 25°. Es también durante estos meses invernales que se presentan heladas, lo suficientemente fuertes para limitar la vegetación de algunos cereales y congelar el agua durante la noche. Las lluvias tempranas a veces se convierten en peligrosas granizadas.

Las lluvias son estacionales y se producen durante el verano en que las temperaturas son más uniformes. Durante seis meses se concentran los 900 milímetros estimados de lluvia, que combinados con el calor moderalo hacen posible la agricultura de secano.

[4] Las punas son los páramos poco habitados, situados a más de 3,500 ms. sobre el nivel del mar, y cubiertos solamente por vegetación esteparia.

[5] Posteriormente incidiremos nuevamente sobre la comunidad de indígenas.

Las condiciones climáticas indicadas deberían haber conducido a un clímax, en el cual, las laderas de los cerros deberían encontrarse cubiertas de bosques. Sin embargo, la mano del hombre y la invasión de los ganados ha provocado el desboscamiento. Infortunadamente el proceso ha seguido su curso y es así, que uno de los grandes problemas de Pucará es la erosión de sus suelos, que se presenta en todos los matices.

La posibilidad de forestación se constata fácilmente con la existencia de un pequeño bosquecillo silvestre, casi escondido, a una altura estimada de 3,500 mts. Está poblado principalmente por alisos (alnus jorulensis) y por kisuares (budleia incana). Por otro lado, los múltiples eucaliptus sembrados al borde de las parcelas de la parte baja, proporcionan al valle un aspecto boscoso.

Los terrenos labrantíos

Los terrenos labrantíos son pocos en relación con el número de habitantes: 2.7 hectáreas cultivadas por familia, y pocos en relación con la superficie total del distrito. Se estima que totalizan 980 hectáreas.[6]

Los suelos aluviales, planos de la parte baja abarcan un área de 300 hectáreas, incluyéndose todos aquellos hasta la cota de los 3,400 ms. Constituyen en cierto modo una prolongación de la llanura del valle de Xauxa, siendo su fertilidad mayor que el promedio general. Esto se debe a que han sido formados sobre una roca madre al parecer de origen volcánico. Son de colores ocres o rojizos, muy marcados.[7]

Gran parte de estos terrenos están irrigados por las aguas del río Raquina, lo que permite su cultivo constante, obteniéndose en algunos casos hasta tres cosechas al año. Es la zona agrícola más rica del distrito, dedicada al cultivo de hortalizas en parcelas muy pequeñas (de 1,000 a 2,000 mts.^{2}). Se acostumbra sembrar: zanahorias, rabanitos, lechugas, espinacas, alcachofas, cebollas, ajos, betarragas, coliflor, coles, y cuatro especies hortícolas orientales destinadas a consumirse en los chifas.[8] En algunas parcelas se siembra alfalfa y alcacer para mantener algunas cabezas de ganado mejorado durante el invierno.

En los mismos terrenos planos, pero carentes de regadío se practica la agricultura de secano, sembrándose principalmente: cebada,

[6] El lector habrá de encontrar frecuentemente referencias como: se estima, se calcula, alrededor de, o similares. Esto se debe a que las estadísticas son muy escasas en el Perú, y para Pucará hemos procedido a calcularlas.

[7] Datos proporcionados por el ingeniero agrónomo Renato Rossi L.

[8] Los chifas son restaurantes de asiáticos que sirven comidas chinas. Son muy generalizados en las ciudades grandes, de buen poder adquisitivo.

cebolla, habas, maíz, papa, quinua (chenopodium quinoa) y maíz. Durante el invierno los ganados descienden de las partes altas a consumir el rastrojo, y luego dan el aspecto de un desierto batido por los vientos fríos del atardecer.

Las laderas cultivadas bajo lluvia comienzan al Sur de la misma población de Pucará, y se calcula que abarcan una superficie de 600 hectáreas. Sobre pendientes erodadas, con una inclinación entre el 5 % y 20 % se cultiva principalmente la arveja y el alverjón (para ser cosechado en verde), el trigo, la cebada y las habas. En algunos rincones abrigados se siembra maíz. A diferencia de la parte baja los árboles son poco frecuentes, y no se cultivan forrajeras.

Entre las cotas de los 3,500 y 3,600 mts., todavía pueden cultivarse plantas resistentes a las heladas, cuya extensión se estima que ocupe 80 hectáreas. La mayor parte de estas punas están dedicadas al pastoreo de ganado ovino, vacuno, y algunas cabezas de porcinos, auquéniros y asnos. La siembra se hace rotativamente y nunca se siembra un lote más de dos años seguidos sin practicar el abonamiento nocturno con los ganados. Las especies aquí sembradas son la papa y otros tubérculos andinos (ollucos, mashua, oca, y cebada).

Todos los pucarinos se dedican a la agricultura. Incluso algunos de los emigrados a Huancayo,[9] o a los asientos mineros, regresan periódicamente a sembrar sus terrenos. Existe la costumbre de abastecer la despensa familiar, siempre, por todos. No hacerlo significa erradicarse y cambiar de status.

Sistemas de tenencia

Existen diversas clases de tenencia, que agruparemos por zonas:

1.—En la zona plana, bajo riego:

a. Los huertos familiares irrigados, de 1,000 metros cuadrados c/u.

b. La única "hacienda" del distrito, que ocupa alrededor de 80 hectáreas planas. Está dedicada a la lechería y a la siembra de papas, residiendo su propietario en Huancayo.

c. El lote de terreno entregado por la comunidad a la escuela de varones del Gobierno, con el propósito de aumentar sus rentas. Los maestros cultivan intensivamente dichos terrenos, relativamente grandes, sin que la comunidad perciba nada por este concepto.

[9] En el curso de este artículo habremos de mencionar constantemente a Huancayo, la tercera ciudad del Perú, capital del departamento de Junín en el que está situado Pucará, centro comercial importante a 12 Kms. de Pucará, y orgullo y capital de los huancas modernos.

2.—En la zona plana, de secano:

a. Lotes familiares de una o dos yugadas [10] de extensión, operados generalmente por toda la familia, durante 6 o 7 meses al año.

b. Lotes cultivados indirectamente, ya sea por aparceros o arrendatarios. Son muy poco numerosos, siendo sus operadores indígenas foráneos.

c. Dos lotes de terrenos labrantíos en común, con una superficie de 36 hectáreas. En la actualidad son trabajados conjuntamente por los comuneros bajo una experiencia de crédito agrícola supervisado, al que nos referiremos más adelante.[11]

3.—En las laderas cultivadas la mayor parte de los terrenos se trabajan directamente por sus propietarios: la familia acude a cultivarlos durante la época de lluvias. Es allí también adonde se encuentran algunos lotes "grandes", de 6 a 7 hectáreas de extensión, que es necesario trabajar con asalariados.

Existen, con más frecuencia que en la parte baja, aparceros y arrendatarios, que también son indígenas foráneos.

Las eras son formas de propiedad comunal, y están constituídas por superficies circulares reducidas en las cuales se trillan los cereales europeos y el haba de los agricultores vecinos.

Los "echaderos" son pastizales naturales al borde de ciénagas, o perennemente inundados por manantiales de la parte alta, que permiten la vegetación ininterrumpida de praderas comunales sobre las cuales medran todos los ganados que puedan entrar.

4.—Los terrenos de las punas pertenecen a la comunidad.

Su usufructo presenta las siguientes variantes:

a. Los "turnos" o "suertes", que son las franjas sobre las laderas abrigadas, destinadas periódicamente a la siembra rotativa. Todos los miembros de la comunidad tienen derecho a utilizar su respectivo lote, pero debido a la distancia son pocos los que se aprovechan de esta prerrogativa.

b. Los pastizales naturales. En su mayor parte se encuentran arrendados a la granja comunal de ovinos, institución que será descrita más adelante. Los remanentes se aprovechan directamente por algunos comuneros.

[10] La yugada es la medida de superficie utilizada corrientemente, y equivale a un tercio de hectárea o a una jornada de trabajo de una yunta de bueyes con arado de palo.

[11] Es solamente en el valle de Xauxa adonde se encuentran terrenos labrantíos de propiedad comunal.

c. Los terrenos de "ccapicusccai" [12] adquiridos por medios tortuosos por algunos "principales" del pueblo. Esta posesión está respaldada por titulación complicada y legalmente viable, pese a que todos admiten que son fruto del despojo a la comunidad. En algunos de ellos se siembran indirectamente pequeños retazos de terreno.

El ciclo anual y sus hitos

El medio ambiente es quien regula la vida de los pucarios. Éstos deben reconocer, como agricultores, que la vida individual o colectiva es enrumbada por las circunstancias climáticas, muchas de ellas imprevisibles o aleatorias. Sin embargo el tiempo está dividido, festejado y amojonado por fiestas que coinciden con las labores agrícolas o que festejan la plétora. El calendario romano, profuso en santos y beatos ha provisto así de hitos recordatorios o propiciatorios que encaja (o sustituye) el calendario bucólico de los antiguos huancas. Este mimetismo puede constatarse muy cerca a Pucará, en el paraje denominado Cocharcas. Cuenta el cronista de la conquista, Cieza de León, de la existencia de un oráculo endemoniado y muy venerado antes de la llegada de los españoles. Después de la conquista dicen que allí se apareció la Virgen.

Y es precisamente con la celebración de la Virgen de Cocharcas en el distrito de Sapallanga, que se celebran las primeras lluvias en el mes de septiembre, al comenzar la primavera. Al ocurrir la primera lunación se escuchan así los primeros truenos, y con el viento y el polvo que sopla sobre los numerosos campesinos que acuden en romería a Sapallanga, se desata generalmente una lluvia torrencial.

La lunación siguiente debe iniciarse también con lluvias, y en efecto, a comienzos de octubre se desata el infaltable "cordonazo de San Francisco". Esta lluvia copiosa ablanda los terrenos suficientemente para permitir la siembra del maíz ,que debe estar terminada para el día de San Lucas, a mediados del mismo mes.

El 2 de noviembre, día de los muertos, todos acuden a los respectivos cementerios de sus aldeas, llevando consigo alimentos y las flores de primavera, a más de su compañía. Es además una fecha límite, pues desde entonces se inician las siembras más importantes de papa. Es frecuente que, para entonces, se paralicen las lluvias durante dos o tres semanas, y que la vegetación se detenga. Es entonces que cunde una inquietud general sobre el resultado de las futuras cosechas, lo que se

[12] Ccapicusccai: se traduce por apoderarse. Cuando se refiere a los terrenos significa tomar posesión de facto de ellos. Proviene del verbo quechua "ccapirai" que significa tomar, agarrar o apropiarse.

acentúa cuando se presentan heladas tardías que afectan a los maizales tiernos.

Las lluvias de "La Purísima" a comienzos de diciembre deben finalizar con esta expectativa, y en caso de ausencia los augurios para la próxima cosecha son desfavorables. Es con la humedad de dichas lluvias que en todo el valle se siembran los cereales europeos (trigo y cebada) y en Pucará el alverjón y la arveja. Y es curioso también constatar cómo estos cultivos nuevos e importantes en la economía del lugar han logrado encajar dentro del calendario tradicional.

La Navidad señala el solsticio de verano y en ella se anuncia la futura plétora. Se celebra en la calle, bailando, y carece del carácter nórdico de recogimiento hogareño y a salvo de los elementos. Para ese entonces debe llover, y a esta lluvia copiosa, persistente y fecundante se le bendice con el nombre de "orines del Niño" (calor y humedad para las plantas).

Durante el mes de enero se entra decididamente en la época de lluvias, durante la cual, cae siempre el agua después de mediodía. La lunación se caracteriza porque llueve días seguidos. Siempre salen a vigilar las plantas, siempre hay que mirar los ganados que se ponen gordos y a veces sufren de timpanismo, y de cuando en cuando, hay que sacar las malas yerbas y aporcar. Las mujeres y los niños se bastan para atender las sementeras, circunstancia por la cual, viajan algunos hombres fuera, a hacer negocios.

La noche del 2 de febrero, de la Virgen Candelaria, se rompe el transcurrir tranquilo ante la inquietud de las heladas que pueden afectar el maíz, que ya ha sido fecundado y está formando el choclo.[13] Muchas familias pasan la noche en vela, haciendo fogatas y mucha bulla, y algunas celebran ceremonias religiosas en la iglesia. Después de esta fecha comienzan a verse y a saborearse los primeros frutos.

Es para los carnavales, que comienza la cosecha de alverjón verde y de arvejas también verdes (petit pois) y de las primeras y mejores cebollas. Puede decirse que esta es la fiesta de Pucará que se celebra con fasto creciente, pues también son crecientes las ganancias de los hortelanos. Acuden muchos camiones para cargar rápido a Lima los interminables costales, a los que se agregan forasteros y pucarinos emigrados. Vienen también pandillas de bailarines de los poblados vecinos, para concursar en esta fiesta que tiene que ser espléndida y cuyos trofeos son cada vez más apreciados.

La "cosecha grande" comienza a fines de marzo, durante la cuaresma, en que la gente carece de tiempo para dedicarse a actividades

[13] El choclo es la denominación del maíz tierno en mazorca utilizada en algunos países de Sudamérica, y que corresponde al aztequismo "elote".

mundanas. Cada cual debe cuidar de lo suyo, y las acémilas pierden todo lo que han engordado durante los últimos meses, trabajando día tras día. Esta época es, sin embargo, cuando tienen lugar las "pachamancas" o grandes comilonas a base del dulce maíz tierno, de las papas "nuevas", de las habas y carne de carnero aderazado con marmaquilla.[14] Todos estos alimentos se cocinan enterrados en el suelo, usando una versión autóctona y original de la marmita. Se calientan piedras grandes al rojo vivo, con las que se forma un horno, adonde se introducen los alimentos previamente aderezados y cubiertos con hojas de maíz y costales luego se entierran. En el lapso de 20 minutos están cocinados, y la gente y los animales domésticos gozan del banquete pantagruélico que tiene lugar al atardecer.

Las fiestas de las cruces se celebran en el mes de mayo, cuando ya han terminado las pachamancas. Cada uno de los domingos se festeja en una procesión alguna de las cruces existentes en alguno de los barrios del pueblo. La más importante es la romería a la gran cruz de San Cristóbal, enclavada sobre el cerro tutelar al Sur de Pucará y visible desde la población. Estas cruces se limpian, se pintan, se cuidan y se adornan con grandes trapos y con las últimas flores de la estación. Ya que en el mes de mayo se terminan las lluvias, y se marca así el final de otra estación.

Los cereales europeos, que ocupan una superficie relativamente reducida son los últimos en cosecharse. El período vegetativo debe completarse con una etapa de agoste, que se produce precisamente en junio, primer mes de la época de sequía. La trilla se lleva a cabo en las eras comunales, adonde se congregan gentes y animales. El aventado de la paja comienza siempre con el viento frío del crepúsculo, que dura hasta media noche en que se aquietan los meteoros. Los adolescentes de ambos sexos hacen de esta operación una fiesta alegre, que amenizan con cantos, música, y a veces traen alcohol y coca. Es la época de la licencia permitida.

El día de San Juan, 24 de junio, es el más frío del año, fecha en la cual las naciones precolombinas tenían señalado exactamente el solsticio de invierno. Para entonces tiene lugar la quema de pastos secos en las punas y laderas, y en algunos lugares de la población los muchachos prenden fogatas.

El 25 de julio se celebra la verdadera fiesta de todos los huancas en el valle del Mantaro, el patrón Santiago. No se crea que es el apóstol español matamoros, que llegó con la conquista, y que en los

[14] La Marmaquilla es una planta arbustiva silvestre que crece en las laderas, de un aroma penetrante y agradable. Se utiliza para aderezar las "pachamancas" mencionadas o para conservar la papa almacenada libre de insectos.

poblados indígenas de otras partes del Perú todos ignoran. Es un santo popular, vestido con ropas nacionales: una mezcla de vestidos indígenas y hasta uniformes militares. Es una fiesta que comienza la víspera respectiva, en familia, con ritual complicado y en el cual participan, como en todos los actos de la vida, los familiares, los animales y los extraños que se encuentren en la casa. Al día siguiente se constata en los animales, que son marcados con colores y de cuyas orejas penden cintas vistosas. La gente muy pobre se resigna a marcar solamente sus perros y gallinas. Luego, durante los ocho días siguientes, la fiesta sale a la calle, y durante las noches es frecuente toparse con pandillas muy alegres, que bailan incansablemente a la luz de la luna, cantando solamente la música especial del "santiago", a temperaturas generalmente inferiores a los diez grados bajo cero.

Las autoridades y personas importantes del lugar deben interrumpir las celebraciones, para asistir a las ceremonias oficiales que tienen lugar en la mañana del 28 de julio. efemérides oficial en la cual se celebra la proclamación de la independencia del Perú. El cura oficia una de las pocas misas del año, y luego hay sesión solemne en el local del concejo municipal. Además están presentes algunos de los empleados públicos y la policía.

El mes de agosto no está marcado precisamente por ninguna ceremonia. Las labores agrícolas están suspendidas, y se aprovecha generalmente para realizar las construcciones y el trabajo en común, o "ayne".

Organización social e instituciones

Una de las costumbres más sorprendentes de Pucará, y de toda la Sierra del Perú es el trabajo en común de la comunidad. Tiene por propósito procurar el bien común, que se realiza voluntariamente por los miembros de la aldea. Su nombre en quechua es "ayne" y en español fajina, y para ejecutarlo se procura no interferir con el ciclo agrícola ni con la vida de sus pobladores. Es la expresión más notoria de trabajos para el desarrollo de la propia comunidad, que se ejecutan según la opinión de los dirigentes, o las directivas del gobierno. Así en ciertas épocas no muy remotas, se ha dedicado toda esta mano de obra a la construcción de la iglesia, o a la construcción del puesto de la guardia civil. El local escolar para varones también fue levantado por faena comunal. Actualmente están construyendo un centro cívico destinado a biblioteca, museo, y otras oficinas culturales. En fin, durante toda la historia de Pucará esta fuerza laboral latente se ha utilizado en obras verdaderamente útiles.

Hace dos generaciones el problema era convencer a los dirigentes

o principales de Pucará para llevar a cabo determinada obra. Ellos se encargaban de "venderle" a los indígenas la idea, en brillantes discursos, o a la fuerza. En los últimos tiempos las cosas han cambiado, y por acuerdo de asamblea pública, se decide realizar determinado trabajo, que se supone habrá de ser bastante útil a la colectividad. Esta reunión es bastante democrática, y en ella tienen bastante influencia los líderes reales y las autoridades oficiales.

En la fecha fijada acuden hombres y mujeres a cumplir con la labor propuesta. Se va con alegría, y sobre todo con curiosidad, como quien acude a una feria o a una reunión social. Los hombres aportan su mano de obra, las mujeres viudas y solteras aportan la comida y algunos principales de situación económica holgada ponen licor y coca. Asisten también los niños y los perros, pues todo lo que ocurre es interesante. Son pocos los omisos, y su ausencia se debe a que no se encuentran en ese momento en la población o a que están enfermos o borrachos. Las multas que se les cobran por este concepto sirven para consumir mayor cantidad de aguardiente de caña durante la faena comunal.

La faena entre vecinos, destinada a terminar la casa de un amigo o pariente se denomina "zafacasa". El propietario de la futura casa, que a la vez es el constructor, termina las paredes con sus propias manos, con ayuda de su mujer y de sus hijos. La ayuda sirve para colocar el techo y concluir algunos detalles, previos a la instalación de la familia en la nueva construcción. Luego, con el transcurrir de los años se le van agregando detalles y comodidades. Rara vez se llega a terminar el revoque. Esta "faena" de un grupo también se celebra con alegría durante la época de la sequía. Para esto los cónyuges preparan una gran comilona, que se rocía con abundante alcohol y que se acompaña con música. A esta fiesta se invita a los futuros constructores.

Este carácter festivo de los trabajos comunales, y la cordialidad que reina en las reuniones no se rompe por la distancia. Los pucarinos que residen en Lima o en Huancayo tienen asociaciones en las cuales se celebran fiestas, se conciertan negocios, y se procura ayuda mutua. La cosa llega a tales extremos que las "colonias" de emigrados serranos residentes en Lima compiten entre sí en festejos y erogaciones para ayudar a sus respectivos pueblos.

En Pucará mismo se han creado asociaciones y clubes de carácter competitivo y festivo. Entre ellas son importantes los clubes deportivos, generalmente compuestos por los jóvenes de cada barrio. Entre los varones son más frecuentes, y organizan semanalmente partidos de foot-ball, que los domingos en la tarde atraen a mucha gente. Las muchachas forman cuadros de volley-ball, que practican con menos fre-

cuencia. Estos eventos deportivos son el núcleo alrededor del cual se van formando mayores relaciones y elaborando nuevas instituciones para el beneficio o diversión general. La circunstancia de que en Pucará no exista luz eléctrica hace que estas reuniones permitan todavía una verdadera vida de comunidad.

Entre los jóvenes de ambos sexos se han formado también pandillas de danzarines, que hacen su aparición para carnavales en competencia con similares del valle entero. En Navidad, y para Santiago también se presentan en público. En todos estos casos bailan sus danzas, o cuando mucho aquellas originales de todo el valle; vistiendo sus ropas locales, típicas; con orquestas vernaculares y cantando sus canciones propias, la mayor parte en el dialecto local del quechua, que es el huanca. Esta acentuación imperceptible, y altiva de la personalidad local y de las tradiciones propias es admirable y singular.

La comunidad de indígenas

Todos aquellos nacidos en Pucará, residan o no en el lugar, son miembros de la comunidad de indígenas. Todos pueden ingresar a ella, siempre que residan y cumplan con los deberes de todo comunero en el mismo Pucará. La comunidad de indígenas en el Perú es una institución nativa, aparte del sistema de gobierno oficial, y que ha coexistido (y en ciertas etapas de la historia subsistido) desde tiempos inmemoriales, y con grandes variantes. Siempre, se ha visto sometida a duras pruebas, algunas de ellas bien intencionadas, muchas de éstas han provocado la desintegración de las comunidades. Su mención provoca polémicas entre los peruanos, originadas por el idealismo en una cultura occidental, individualista, y que no admite la existencia de instituciones diferentes en su organización. Muchos hablan de destruir las comunidades hasta en aras del bien nacional, y muchos de revitalizarlas y conducirlas por el camino del progreso y la abundancia.

Los peruanos españolizantes definen a la comunidad de indígenas como "un grupo de indios que tienen tierras en común". En el caso de Pucará podría aceptarse esta definición en el aspeceto excluyentemente físico, pues existen en efecto los terrenos labrantíos, los pastizales naturales, lotes urbanos, casas y otros terrenos ya mencionados. Sin embargo hay algo que se olvida, atávico, telúrico, imponderable. En Pucará la comunidad es más que todo un sentimiento, que agrupa a los indígenas, "mistis",[15] principales y foráneos en la comarca pro-

[15] Los "mistis" son los dirigentes locales, descendientes de los españoles, algo diferentes de los indígenas, y que corresponderían a la "gente de razón" de Mesoamérica.

pia, creando hasta su cosmogonia particular. Esta gente vive[16] conjuntamente, poseyendo algunos bienes raíces comunes ayudándose mutuamente, trabajando para el bien común, y con sus propios sistemas de gobierno.

La constitución del Perú en vigencia reconoció en 1931 la existencia de las comunidades de indígenas, haciéndolas imprescindibles, inalienables e inembargables. Además se estableció un padrón de comunidades de indígenas, todavía incompleto.

En el distrito de Pucará se han reconocido oficialmente las comunidades de Pucará y Marcavalle. El anexo de Raquina gestiona su reconocimiento como comunidad.

En un barrio de la misma población de Pucará es adonde late con mayor potencia este sentimiento comunitario, indescriptible y profundo del "llaccta querido".[17] Se ha constituido una cooperativa de crédito, denominada sociedad de auxilios mutuos, que funciona adecuadamente hace algunos años. El Estado carece de intervención en su desenvolvimiento y nadie se preocupa de divulgar su existencia. Todos los asociados contribuyen puntualmente al mantenimiento de la caja en común al iniciarse cada año. Estar al día en las cuotas les da derecho para gozar de sus beneficios. Las cuotas de los asociados, sumadas a los intereses, van incrementando el capital inicial. Los préstamos se otorgan a los solicitantes que comprueben necesitarlos, y siempre han resultado recuperables. Se otorgan préstamos para emprender pequeños negocios o para entierros o enfermedad. No se conceden préstamos para la agricultura. El control es familiar y vecinal.

Organización política oficial

La organización política oficial, paralela a la de la comunidad de indígenas, es la más aparente, y naturalmente, la que se le describe al visitante. Corresponde más o menos a la de la colonia española, y es de carácter marcadamente centralista, y paternalista. El poder, la responsabilidad y las decisiones más importantes emanan en última instancia de la Capital de la República. Es por esto que el principio de autoridad es decisivo para el gobierno del país, y que el sistema sea bastante rígido, y los funcionarios sumamente suceptibles respecto a su intangibilidad.

[16] Utilizamos aquí el verbo vivir en el sentido de "obrar siguiendo algún tenor o modo en las acciones, en cuanto miran a la razón o a la ley" de acuerdo a la definición dada por la Real Academia Española de la Lengua, a más de su sentido restringido de morar o habitar en un lugar.

[17] "Llaccta" significa literalmente aldea, poblado, y cuando lo mencionamos en el Perú en la forma indicada equivale a cuando los emigrdos italianos en América, relatan con nostalgia de "il mio paese".

El Presidente de la República designa a los prefectos que gobiernan los departamentos. De acuerdo con ellos se denominan a los subprefectos que gobiernan las provincias. El subprefecto de Huancayo nomina a su vez al alcalde municipal y a su respectivo concejo municipal encargado de la administración pública de Pucará. En cada uno de los anexos se nombra un agente municipal, que es el alcalde de facto de la unidad de gobierno más pequeña. El alcalde tiene una iniciativa limitada por la autoridad emanada desde Huancayo y por las exiguas rentas públicas locales. Para hacer alguna obra tiene que estar en buenas relaciones con los ciudadanos y con los indígenas,[18] y aprovechar de la organización de la mera comunidad de indígenas para llevarla a cabo.

El subprefecto de Huancayo nombra también al gobernador de Pucará y a sus respectivos "tenientes" encargados de cada uno de los anexos. Las funciones de todos ellos son gobernar y mantener el orden, siendo un hombre importante, que debe tener "sentido de autoridad". Sin embargo, con las transformaciones ocurridas en los últimos tiempos nos dicen que ha disminuido mucho ese sentido de mando.

El juez de paz es alguno de los principales del pueblo con vocación y conocimientos leguleyescos, nombrado por la corte superior de justicia de Huancayo.

La constelación de las autoridades pueblerinas se completa con la policía, cuerpo castrense, foráneo, de organización calcada de la guardia civil española de la década del 20. Sus miembros no intervienen mayormente en la marcha de la población, y permanecen ajenos a lo que ocurre en ella. Actúan con discreción, pese a que son temidos, pues constituyen una pequeña fuerza armada respaldada desde las capitales.

El gobierno central aprovecha de la estratificación social para extraer las autoridades distritales, a la vez que por su intermedio procura dirigir e influir sobre el desenvolvimiento de Pucará.[19] Para lograr esto es costumbre hacer rotar los cargos directivos entre los principales del lugar, de los cuales siempre hay personas disponibles. Por otro lado, si algún pucarino muy avisado, pero cuyo liderazgo no ha sido aún aceptado en el lugar logra hacerse nombrar autoridad por sus padrinos en Huancaya, es traido abajo prontamente.

Las clases sociales

Las clases sociales basan su existencia en la tradición, en la pose-

[18] La ciudadanía peruana la tienen solamente los alfabetos, y citando a muchas publicaciones oficiales, "los indígenas están al margen de la nacionalidad".

sión de los terrenos labrantíos (no en su cultivo necesariamente) en la situación económica y en el prestigio personal. Las clases sociales son las siguientes:

1) Los terratenientes tradicionales, poco numerosos y a los cuales se les aceptaba un status más elevado. Forman el grupo conservador, poco permeable, defensor de los valores tradicionales, relacionado con una clase similar en todo el valle (ya sea por parentesco, compadrazgo o formalismo). Se les señala a algunos por haber practicado el "ccapicusccai".

2) El "tercer estado" emergente y triunfante, que detenta hoy día el poderío. Incluye a los hortelanos más prósperos, a los comerciantes locales, a unos poco artesanos, los líderes de los anexos, y a algunos comerciantes residentes en Huancayo que todavía siembran sus terrenos en Pucará. El status que se le confiere en Huancayo o en otras poblaciones del valle corresponde al de la clase media, con la cual se integran fácilmente.

3) El campesinado nativo, compuesto por la mayor parte de la población. En su mayor parte son pequeños agricultores de los anexos, con pocos terrenos irrigados, también conservadores y desconfiados, y descendientes de los antiguos "indios sin casta" del otrora anexo de Pucará. Sus mujeres son prácticamente monolingües del dialecto huanca y los hombres bilingües. La vestimenta es también distintiva, especialmente entre las mujeres.

4) El proletariado agrícola de indígenas foráneos, que acuden desde el vecino departamento de Huancavelica alentados por los mejores jornales que se pagan en el valle de Xauxa. Son gente en proceso de acomodación que terminan o emigrando o involucrándose a alguna de las clases sociales anteriores.

Las tendencias en la cultura

La comunidad de Pucará, como todas las aldeas del Perú, y como todas las aldeas en el planeta es un campo de batalla de ideas y actitudes diferentes y opuestas. A la vez es un campo experimental adonde procuran introducirse mercachifles e idealistas, y adonde moros y cristianos procuran hacer florecer sus prejuicios o hallazgos. Pueden así mencionarse tres tendencias influyentes que inciden sobre la ideología actual de los pucarinos (si es dable emplear esta acepción).

[19] Un ejemplo muy notorio son las elecciones generales de 1950, con lista y candidato único, previamente a las cuales se les indicó, sin lugar a dudas a las autoridades por quién habría de votar la población de Pucará.

Las clases dirigentes constituyen el elemento receptor y el medio de difusión de las ideas y de los productos foráneos. Aunque la extraordinaria movilidad en el Perú de los últimos años, ha permitido que los campesinos indígenas actúen también como elementos receptores. Esta situación no es muy conveniente para las prerrogativas que detentan las clases dirigentes, que a veces establecen el "peligro de la demasiada educación de los indígenas". Y esta tendencia tradicionalista, de ensimismamiento y de rechazo a lo extranjero y a las influencias perturbadoras, es la que actúa todavía muy poderosamente en Pucará. Se refugia en los ancianos, en los terratenientes que añoran los tiempos pasados, en los analfabetos, y en fin, en los que ya llegaron arriba.

La secularización está arribando a través de las grandes ciudades, y de los viajeros y comerciantes. Y el mundo exterior lo constituye Lima y el "progreso". Ya que hoy en día los dirigentes de las aldeas serranas se precian de desear el "progreso", lo que significa muchas cosas, desde querer ganar dinero, movilizarse socialmente y más que todo cambiar de símbolos y costumbres. En realidad esta actitud significa un mimetismo hacia las imágenes de la sub-cultura oficial, poderosa, ajena, pero a la cual tradicionalmente hemos acostumbrado a darle una categoría superior. Los medios de difusión de esta subcultura son los más eficaces del país, mas en Pucará su influencia ha sido limitada por la carencia de fluido eléctrico. Este proceso ineludible norma actitudes y acciones en todos los individuos y en los pueblos pequeños del Perú. En consecuencia se están integrando estos antiguos islotes aislados (y en ciertos casos antagónicos) dentro de una sola unidad.

En la mentalidad de los pucarinos la posibilidad de una movilización social es el elemento que más ha logrado incidir. Hoy en día se manifiesta así una compulsión urgente por llegar a ser "gente decente".[20] Es difícil imaginarse todo el esfuerzo que se gasta en la adquisición y exhibición de símbolos y artefactos. Este feroz proceso competitivo opone entre sí a los individuos, que llegan a convertirse en competidores despiadados. Y he aquí la ordalía a que se ve sometida Pucará y todas las comunidades de indígenas: ¿sobrevivirá en el Perú el sentimiento comunitario, o triunfará la atomización de la sociedad "folk" provocada por una secularización acelerada?

Las sanciones positivas por la aceptación de estos símbolos en la cultura oficialista son la posibilidad de adquirir un mejor status,

[20] Forma en la cual se autodenominan los componentes de las clases dominantes en el Perú. El resto de la población estaría compuesto por "gente plebe" o "indios".

la aceptación de los provincianos dentro del poco accesible mundo oficial y capitalino, y posibilidades económicas más halagüeñas.

Las sanciones negativas son el ostracismo social y el ridículo, y el mantenerse como "indio" despreciado con bajos ingresos económicos.

El problema práctico, de cómo prosperar dentro de la cultura oficial se resuelve en Pucará adoptando la vieja táctica del compadrazgo y las prebendas. Se procura comprometer por cualquier medio a los poderosos, y si es posible hasta al mismo Presidente de la República. Es por esta actitud tan generalizada que las autoridades políticas, militares y eclesiásticas de Huancayo asisten semanalmente a opíparos banquetes de comidas regionales en las aldeas del valle. Se supone que estos agasajos servirán para obtener algún beneficio para la comunidad respectiva. Y es por esto frecuente en toda la Sierra del Perú encontrar en las casas de los principales fotografías ya amarillentas de coroneles o canónigos gordos. La explicación es siempre la misma "fue mi compadre".[21]

Puede vislumbrarse una tercera tendencia en los últimos años, que podría calificarse de vernacular o telúrica. Es la afirmación y orgullo de los valores propios entre los huancas. Poco a poco van perdiendo la vergüenza de mostrar lo suyo y de exaltarlo. Y ante la consternación y críticas de muchos elementos oficiales en Huancayo se desbordan a bailar sus propias danzas vernaculares en las calles. En Pucará esta tendencia es más marcada aún, y precisamente los renombrados concursos de carnavales se caracterizan por bailarse en ellos las danzas populares, inherentes al lugar.

Una manifestación muy reciente y muy sutil del aporte tradicional de la cultura precolombina es la creación de "jardines tropicales" fuera de Pucará.[22] El primer ejemplo lo vemos en un grupo de 14 pucarinos emprendedores que hicieron un floreciente negocio agrícola arrendando los terrenos comunales de la parte baja. Con las utilidades obtenidas se compraron su "hacienda en las montañas", en una región cálida y quebrada a dos días de camino de Pucará. Es también debido a la iniciativa de líderes pucarinos que se ha creado la "colonización huanca", una concesión de terrenos en la selva lejana del Satipo a un grupo de indígenas del valle del Mantaro. Es que entre ellos flota

[21] Todos los peruanos sabemos y aceptamos de aquella regla de oro para prosperar, expresada en un antiguo aforismo español que reza así: "quien tiene padrinos se bautiza y el que no se queda moro".

[22] El antropólogo John V. Murra en la ponencia "tenencia de tierras entre los Incas y otras civilizaciones de la Sierra central Andina" para el 58 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, nos dice de los "jardines tropicales" que las comunidades del Imperio acostumbraban tener en la selva.

siempre el anhelo de llegar a tener un huerto exuberante y prodigioso en la región selvática ignota y lejana.

Y precisamente aquí surge lo inesperado de Pucará y de otros pueblos del valle de Xauxa: están utilizando el dinero y la tecnología occidental para concretar algunos de los desideratums de su ideología "folk". Tales cosas se emprenden con sigilo, y sin la intervención de los representantes de la secularización, porque no andan de acuerdo al "progreso".

Los tiempos idos

Caminando en cierta ocasión con un señor partidario del "ancien regime" por las calles de Pucará éste se quejaba de que los muchachos no fueran ya respetuosos, y que no se les pudiera ya reconvenir. Antes cualquiera de los mayores podía enmendarles la plana en la vía pública, y había más respeto. En efecto hasta el cura de la parroquia de Sapallanga les lanza "sermones capaces de conmover a las piedras", según el decir de un próspero hortelano, pero nadie le suelta prenda hoy en día. En cambio antes era costumbre que nadie osaba trasgredir el pago de diezmos y primicias para el mantenimiento del culto. La gente fue haciéndose la desentendida y las contribuciones fueron menguando hasta llegar a nada, a medida que crecían las amenazas y las admoniciones de los curas de otrora, que ya han fallecido. Y en efecto, en aquel entonces eran muy terribles los insultos. Hoy en día parece que la gente se ha vuelto pacífica o que carece de tiempo para dedicarse a pleitear. Antes muchos eran los que acudían a los juzgados de Huancayo siguiendo sus juicios y perdiendo mucho tiempo y dinero. Por ejemplo, y nos señalaban una casa de la otra acera, "aquella señora ya viejita tuvo que vender un terreno de yugada y media para pagar a sus defensores en un juicio que ella misma había iniciado por insultos". También nos dicen que los terrenos no valían nada, que se regalaban, vendían, cedían o se trocaban por cosas ínfimas. En cambio hoy día todos buscan ansiosos siquiera un cuarto de yugadita en donde sembrar verduras. Es cierto que el resultado de las cosechas no era siempre bueno, y sobre todo no pagaban nada por los productos agrícolas. No valía la pena dedicarse intensamente a la agricultura sino solamente obtener lo necesario para proveer la despensa propia, y tener algo para hacer algunas fiestas en el año. Y en efecto, como es posible observarlo en muchas aldeas del sur del Perú, los campesinos y sobre todo los líderes locales viven semi-alcoholizados, ingiriendo desde antes del desayuno un trago de alcohol de caña de mala calidad. En cambio en la Pucará de hoy en día la gente se emborracha en igual forma y cantidad que muchos

de los técnicos norteamericanos residentes en el Perú: el consumo de alcohol *per capita* para celebrar el Santiago es tan elevado como entre el "staff" de estadounidenses en la Oroya [23] para celebrar el 4 de julio. El resto del año las verduras no dejan tiempo para diversiones, y también se ha reducido enormemente el consumo de la coca.[24] Esto coincide con un mayor consumo de verduras y de alimentos importados que antes no podían comprarse por falta de dinero. Y esto se traduce en muchachos a las claras más altos y fornidos que los de antes. Sólo que esta juventud tiene un deseo incontenible de viajar y de conocer el mundo. Y también de quedarse en Lima o en Huancayo.

Para ese entonces el gobierno se ejercía desde Sapallanga, y las autoridades actuaban en colaboración con los "principales" de aquel distrito "que tanto daño nos hizo", y que obligaba a los indígenas a hacer faenas comunales para sus obras públicas. Y era fácil distinguir a los indígenas, pues todos ellos vivían y se vestían de manera diferente. Y era fácil gritarles y ordenarles. Hoy en día, nos dicen los principales de otrora, han perdido el respeto. En efecto, todos estos síntomas diferentes están acompañados por un cambio en la actitud de las gentes que a nuestro parecer es trascendental. El hombre común y corriente, el campesino "huanca" otrora despreciado, hoy en día tiene mayor seguridad personal, y puede ahorrar dinero para reinvertirlo en negocios futuros. Estas características no las goza la mayor parte de la población indígena, que reside en el Sur del Perú.

La introducción del cultivo de las hortalizas en Pucará

El valle de Xauxa fue comunicado con la ciudad de Lima poco antes de iniciarse la primera guerra mundial. Durante la década del 20 el mercado capitalino aumenta sus demandas de productos alimenticios, producidos entre otros lugares en Pucará. En el Perú de aquel entonces existía solamente una agricultura de subsistencia, plantaciones gigantescas de algodón, caña de azúcar y arroz en algunos valles de la costa, y trapiches productores de alcohol en algunos valles cálidos interandinos. Es entonces que algunos jóvenes acuden a la capital por razones comerciales o por la curiosidad que despertaron en el Perú

[23] La Oroya es un centro industrial, centro caminero y activo mercado del centro del Perú. Muchos de los campesinos del valle acuden allí a trabajar en la fundición de cobre, propiedad de una importante firma norteamericana, que celebra alegremente la fiesta nacional de los Estados Unidos, el día de acción de gracias y otras efemérides de dicho país con gran consumo de alcohol.

[24] La coca (erytroxilon cocae) es un arbusto cultivado en las zonas tropicales del Perú, cuya hoja da como producto la cocaína. Los campesinos indígenas la consumen masticándola, y así insensibilizando el estómago. Ya es un vicio.

las fiestas del centenario de la independencia. Y allí, en el valle del Rimac mismo, se emplearon como peones de los hortelanos japoneses y chinos que abastecían al creciente mercado capitalino. Y por una colección de circunstancias diversas, debidas más que todo al azar, estos jóvenes pucarinos adquieren el único concepto comercial de la agricultura que era posible obtener para un pequeño propietario en todo el país.

A los pocos años comenzaron a retornar a casa, a la comunidad entonces aislada, autárquica, tradicionalista, y poco permeable. Y en colaboración con sus antiguos patrones asiáticos, y luego por cuenta propia se dedicaron a sembrar verduras en los pequeños lotes irrigados de la parte plana de Pucará. Es allí donde se obtienen hoy en día hasta tres cosechas al año, pero para lograrlo el verdulero tiene que trabajar con sus propias manos y cuando mucho aceptando ayuda de los familiares. Y así surge la primera discrepancia con aquella aldea retrógrada: los hombres se encuentran ocupados de sol a sol, y muchas veces regando de noche con agua casi al punto de congelación. Cumplen el sino que todos los "mistis" les asignan a los "indios": ¡trabajar como bestias de carga!

La agricultura tradicional de subsistencia se dedicaba al cultivo extensivo de parcelas mucho mayores durante seis meses al año. Y estos hortelanos consiguen aprovechar intensamente los terrenos tildados de marginales por la simbología económica de aquellos tiempos. Y logran obtener ganancias efectivas en una sociedad tradicionalista.

En consecuencia se forma en aquel entonces una clase social emergente, económicamente significativa y compuesta en su mayor parte de jóvenes. Esta gente, debido a su juventud y a su ausencia de Pucará no había sido todavía condicionada completamente a los patrones tradicionales.

La imagen económica sufre un trastorno brusco. La tierra, cuya posesión era la llave de la subsistencia adquiere un carácter dinámico. Es necesario cultivarla para vivir bien, concepto que aumenta la codicia sobre los terrenos labrantíos. Se provoca un mejor deslinde de las parcelas y el propietario se apega más a lo suyo. La movilidad de la propiedad se transforma, antes se lleva a cabo por causas familiares o sentimentales; hoy en día cuenta más el dinero.

El cultivo hortícola transformó también el manejo de los suelos. Fue necesaria la nivelación de los lotes, su cercado o amojonamiento, su fertilización periódica y la roturación constante. Naturalmente se controló toda erosión, y se procuró canalizar el río Raquina.

Todos estos ingresos aumentaron cuando los mismos pucarinos ingresaron al negocio de mercados de hortalizas, originalmente en manos de extraños. Esto aumentó los efectos de la reacción en cadena ya

iniciada, pues aumentó el número de gente que salió a conocer otros medios.

Hoy en día el ingreso anual familiar de los hortelanos de la parte baja de Pucará es superior a los 10,000 soles.[25]

La "revolución" de la década del 20

La presión de los hortelanos jóvenes es cada vez mayor en la Pucará de una generación atrás, tanto que son aceptados en la dirección de los asuntos del anexo de Sapallanga. Y arrementen entonces contra la capital del distrito. Después de largas gestiones, de acudir a los compadres influyentes, y de erogar bastante dinero en trámites y banquetes se logra la creación del distrito de Pucará en 1923. Las fotografías nos muestran la numerosa cabalgata de gentes notables de Huancayo que acudieron a la enorme celebración que tuvo lugar.

A la larga los nuevos ricos terminan dominando la situación, completamente, y deciden transformar su flamante distrito. El primer problema era construir carreteras, lo que se logra con los indios que acudían antes a realizar las "faenas comunales" en Sapallanga. Con ellas se comunican con Huancayo y se abren carreteras secundarias que permiten que los camiones arriben a las meras parcelas a recoger las verduras. Los antiguos terratenientes, que ven en esto una amenaza más se oponen, y ejercen sanciones de tipo social contra los dirigentes jóvenes. Muchos de ellos son golpeados y en última instancia se recurre a la más aviesa de las sanciones: iniciarles un juicio endiablado.[26]

Durante la década del 30 la situación política del Perú era inestable, y en México se parcelaban latifundios a troche y moche. Es por esto que el Obispo de la diócesis decide poner en venta todos los terrenos de las "cofradías".[27] Dichos terrenos habían sido administrados por el econónomo de la parroquia, que destinaba sus productos al sostenimiento del culto.

Todas las comunidades reaccionaron manifestando su franca opo-

[25] El dólar estadounidense equivale a 27.50 soles peruanos. El ingreso anual familiar promedio para los agricultores del valle del Mantaro oscila alrededor de 7,000 soles, y en la Sierra Sur del Perú, colindante con Bolivia es algo inferior a los 2,000 soles.

[26] Aquel que desconozca la Sierra del Perú difícilmente lograría imaginarse la tenacidad y malignidad de estos interminable procesos judiciales, basados sobre todo en la acumulación de pruebas y testimonios, y en cuidar de que no venzan los "términos" o fechas límites para responder los recursos de la otra parte.

[27] En todos los pueblos de la Sierra existen terrenos labrantíos consagrados a algún santo, iglesia o imágen de la localidad, que usufructúa el mismo párroco.

sición al propósito del señor Obispo, ya que los campesinos afirmaban que dichos terrenos eran propiedad de la comunidad respectiva desde tiempos inmemoriales. La curia era simplemente usuaria de dichos terrenos labrantíos para sostener así el culto católico. En Pucará, basados en esta tesis incluso obligaron a que la curia se retractara de algunas ventas, y a que se mantuvieran intactos los lotes grandes. Después de largas negociaciones se llegó al acuerdo transaccional de que dichos lotes fueran vendidos intactos a la comunidad, la que carecía de dinero. Para cumplir con su compromiso se vio obligada a llevar a cabo financiamientos arriesgados, de los que salió bien parada.[28]

En la década del 40 se acentúa el progreso agrícola, ya que comienzan a utilizarse abonos químicos para el cultivo de las hortalizas y las papas, se introducen insecticidas y fungicidas, y se multiplica el empleo de semillas seleccionadas, así como otras técnicas aisladas. A la vez el Banco Agrícola del Perú [29] multiplica sus préstamos, que en cierta ocasión llegan a proporcionar hasta el 30 % de todos los gastos de cultivo anuales. Los camiones de carga se multiplican, y algunos de ellos pertenecen a los mismos pucarinos. Algunos de éstos forman fortunas sólidas, que llegan a tener importancia dentro del valle. Son éstos los que se contruyen sus "chalets" o casas imitando la arquitectura de los barrios residenciales de Lima en las afueras de la población. Son también los hijos de estos nuevos ricos los que emigran a centros que proporcionan "cultura" como Huancayo y Lima.

La admisión de Pucará como paradigma del desarrollo se constata entre los poco conocedores de la zona, tan preocupados en la cuestión "racial", que llegan a calificar a sus habitantes ya de "mestizos". Por otro lado, circunstancias que luego examinaremos al detalle han hecho que Pucará ya "cree noticias" para los periódicos capitalinos más difundidos.

Por otro lado la secularización se acentúa y muchas veces disminuye el entusiasmo para cualquiera "faena comunal". A veces prefieren sus propios negocios y muchos son competidores despiadados entre sí. Los mismos anexos siguen ya el ejemplo exitoso de Pucará, y así Asca se desentiende de la autoridad central y Raquina pretende constituirse en distrito sigilosamente, con terrenos comunales propios.

[28] Prácticamente todas las comunidades del valle del Mantaro siguieron el mismo procedimiento, lo que condujo a que hoy en día sean las pocas comunidades de indígenas de la Sierra que posen terrenos comunales labrantíos.

[29] Institución oficial, con capital del gobierno, que otorga préstamos a los agricultores, y que hoy en día se denomina "Banco de Fomento Agropecuario del Perú".

Las intervenciones del estado central en Pucará

El estudio de la región de Pucará es relativamente fácil, ya que a diferencia de otras regiones del Perú dispone de algunas cartas geográficas, las cuales son:

1) Carta geográfica levantada por el Servicio Geográfico del Ejército a escala de 1:200,000.
2) Mapa aereofotográfico del valle del Mantaro y afluentes.
3) Mapa de suelos de la región levantado por los ingenieros agrónomos del Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Producción de Alimentos.

Por otro lado el Estado interviene en la vida de los pucarinos con el reclutamiento anual de parte de los jóvenes de 20 años, que tienen que cumplir el servicio militar obligatorio. Aquellos que no son llamados a filas tienen ejercicios dominicales militares.

El pueblo es visitado periódicamente por un recaudador de impuestos, que anda cautelosamente de casa en casa, siendo vejado y evitado, cual el publicano de los tiempos bíblicos.

El Estado tiene en el lugar dos escuelas rurales corrientes que imparten la enseñanza primaria separadamente a los niños y niñas. La comunidad ha contribuido generosamente a la escuela de varones, donándole un terreno labrantío que ellos cultivan con la ayuda de los alumnos y de un tractor propio. Bajo la sincera inspiración de los maestros se les indujo a construir en "faenas comunales" el edificio en el cual iba a funcionar la escuela. Luego podría exigirse del Estado central que invirtieran tanto dinero como había invertido la comunidad. Hace ya varios años que Pucará ha cubierto su 50 % con creces, pero ya todos han perdido la esperanza de que el Estado cumpla con su parte.

Esta descripción de la intervención estatal podría corresponder a cualquier distrito del valle de Xauxa. Sin embargo es interesante observar los "experimentos" que tienen lugar en Pucará.

El más antiguo de ellos, que luego se generalizó a otras comunidades es la "Granja Comunal de Ovinos". Es una institución destinada a aprovechar los pastizales naturales de las punas, de la mayor parte de los cuales es arrendataria. Su propósito era crear una explotación de ovinos moderna y rediticia, y que en su funcionamiento imitara a las grandes haciendas de lanares. El primer obstáculo surgía de la ley orgánica del Banco Agrícola, que establecía la imposibilidad de afectar terrenos comunales. Por otro lado algunos pucarinos difidentes se oponían a esta idea. Se siguió adelante con una salida legalística creando una nueva institución, a la que podían ingresar los

comuneros que quisieran. El valor de cada acción para constituirse en socio de la granja fue en 1942 de diez soles [30] o una cabeza de ganado lanar adulto sin seleccionar. Cada socio tenía opción a cinco acciones, pero solamente a un voto. Las utilidades se repartirían proporcionalmente después de proveer un fondo de reserva.

Esta institución tiene un funcionamiento bastante similar a una hacienda, y los accionistas tienen poca intervención en su manejo. El trabajo de campo es llevado a cabo por pastores foráneos de bajos jornales, que poco tienen que ver con la comunidad; las órdenes para el manejo las dan algunos de los "principales" de Pucará mismo; pero la administración la ejerce el Banco de Fomento Agropecuario. Pese a que lleva ya 18 años en funcionamiento son los técnicos y funcionarios de esta institución los que deciden qué hay que hacer. Por otro lado han hecho algunas instalaciones modernas para el mejor manejo del rebaño en las punas, han mejorado apreciablemente la raza de las borregas, tienen algunos sementales finos, y reparten anualmente utilidades que resultan aún muy reducidas para la economía de los accionistas.

El segundo de los "experimentos" se llevó a cabo a sugerencia de algunos técnicos del Ministerio de Agricultura en la década del 40. Se constituyó una cooperativa para el mercadeo de las hortalizas y fueron nombrados dirigentes los consabidos "principales". Éstos ignoraban lo que era una cooperativa, a más que carecían de tiempo para atender intereses competitivos. Pronto se presentaron defectos contables y administrativos, y a la larga el capital pagado se insumió en el pago de fletes a los camiones que habían transportado las verduras y en el valor de éstas a los depósitos de Lima. Allí se malograron esperando un mejor precio.

En 1953 comenzó el así llamado experimento de crédito agrícola supervisado. A instancias del servicio de extensión agrícola el Banco de Fomento Agropecuario otorgó un préstamo relativamente considerable a un grupo de 14 pucarinos que habían arrendado los mejores terrenos labrantíos comunales. En lo que se refiere a sus resultados puede afirmarse que: *1)* ha creado nuevas fuentes de trabajo asalariado en Pucará mismo, de las que han aprovechado sobre todo las comunidades vecinas. *2)* Ha representado buenas ganancias para los componentes del grupo. *3)* Ha enseñado técnicas modernas en el cultivo de la papa. *4)* Ha acelerado la erosión de algunos terrenos en ladera, que anteriormente desconocían el arado de vertedera y el tractor.

Infortunadamente alrededor de todo esto se ha desplegado una

[30] En la fecha en que se fundó la granja el dólar valía 4.50 soles.

cortina de humo de propaganda. Desde el comienzo estaba designado a tener "éxito", y es así que todos los periódicos de gran circulación asocian a Pucará con esta panacea para lograr el desarrollo de los indígenas en la Sierra. Existe una evaluación ponderada, que se refiere a sus comienzos.[31] Los 14 afortunados iniciadores, ya han sido reemplazados por la comunidad entera.

En 1955 fueron creados los "transportes comunales Pucará" con el emblema extraño de los dos arbolitos de pino. Se pretendía de dicha manera controlar las alzas inmoderadas y periódicas en el valor de los fletes y pasajes a Huancayo. Con este propósito fue suscrito el capital suficiente para pagar la primera cuota de un ómnibus que se iba a comprar a plazos. El negocio fue planeado de tal manera que "marchara solo, y las unidades en trabajo se pagaran a sí mismas". Sin haber cancelado el valor de la primera unidad adquirieron también a plazos, otros dos autobuses más. El primero de los problemas surgió encontrándose los ómnibus en marcha: era preciso obtener el permiso correspondiente de la Dirección General de Tránsito en Lima, para que los vehículos pudieran caminar. A más de que los trámites son siempre complicados y morosos en el poco conocido mundo oficial, las empresas de transportes ejercían presión de toda laya, para que no se les concediera el permiso. Y es así que fue diferido con el pretexto de que "las carreteras del valle del Mantaro se iban a saturar de líneas de transporte que llegarían a hacerse competencia ruinosa, ofreciendo un servicio deficiente". Entonces el servicio tuvo que sostenerse con el óbolo que dejaban los pasajeros al momento de subir a los omnibuses. Por otro lado esta cooperativa de hecho no llegó a encajar dentro de las disposiciones oficiales respectivas, y legalmente se encuentra en el aire.

El más serio de sus problemas es la administración defectuosa, y una contabilidad inconveniente. Hoy en día dos de las unidades se encuentran inmovilizadas, las letras correspondientes en su mayor parte, no se han pagado, y no existe dinero con qué afrontar la situación.

La cuarta de estas experiencias fue la creación de la cooperativa de crédito "la Fortaleza", a instancias de un activo técnico portorriqueño pagado por la asociación de *Credit Unions* de los Estados Unidos para desarrollar instituciones similares en el Perú. Fue recibido en sesión solemne, agasajado, y establecida esta flamante caja de crédito rural en 1957. Nunca funcionó.

[31] Manuel Alero-Montalvo: "Social systems analysis of supervised agricultural credit in an andean community" Rural sociology, volume 25, número 1, march 1960, New York, Estados Unidos.

Los problemas pendientes en Pucará

Muchos de los "policy makers" [32] del Perú quieren encontrar una comunidad típica que sirva de laboratorio viviente para conducirla a la prosperidad económica y la felicidad. Pocos de ellos palpan sin embargo lo que ocurre en la Sierra, pues observando a Pucará cabe afirmar los siguiente:

1) No existe poblado típico de la zona andina; *2)* todos ellos sufren un brusco proceso de transformación y son como aguas torrentosas que buscan su cauce; *3)* la recomendación que cabría hacer a los que pueden influir en el desarrollo de las pequeñas comunidades es que no pretendan conducirlas, sino que simplemente eliminen los escollos que se oponen a su desarrollo.

Precisamente en Pucará cabe mencionar algunas dificultades debidas a causas externas, que retardan la marcha de las cosas. En primer lugar tenemos un flagrante caso de "ccapicusccai" que quiere consumarse nada menos que ante la Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, con todas las de la ley. Se trata de unos terrenos comunales que ciertos pucarinos residentes en Lima aseveran que son suyos. Y para apropiárselos se aprovechan de la difícil y laberíntica geografía de los ministerios públicos, iniciándoles a los pucarinos un juicio del que se enteran cuando están por vencerse los "términos" o fechas límites para presentar pruebas ante el alegato (aunque absurdo) de la parte contraria. ¿Por qué hacerles perder tanto el tiempo a los dirigentes de la comunidad? ¿Por qué no se le asegura a la comunidad la integridad de sus terrenos conforme lo establece la mera Constitución del Perú?

Otra piedra de toque la tenemos en la construcción de la anhelada planta eléctrica, todavía sin terminarse e iniciada en 1955. El Ministerio de Fomento y Obras Públicas en Lima les envió un seudo-técnico dicharachero e irresponsable, que les hizo construir en vano, en faena comunal más de 2 kilómetros de canal en roca viva. Sin embargo esto no ha matado el entusiasmo, y siguieron prestando su contribución graciosa a la construcción de la obra, que se espera que algún día se termine.

Podría alargase el pliego de reclamos con otros ejemplos.

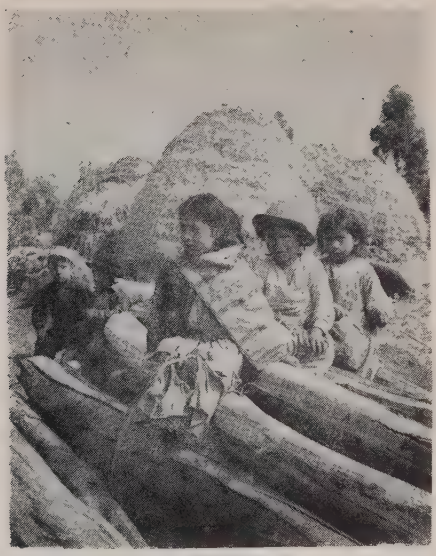
[32] Literalmente "hacedores de política" o planeadores.

Niña pucarina que va en busca de pan para el desayuno.

Vista panorámica de la población de Pucará, desde el sur.

El valle de Raquina y sus parcelas sembradas con hortalizas. Al fondo, Pucará.

Siega tardía de la "cosecha grande" de cebada en el vallecito de Raquina.



Niños pucarinos frente a la era comunal.

La construcción de un nuevo cuarto durante la época de la sequía en el campo.

PUCARÁ: Dibujo del pintor peruano Aquiles, Rally.

GUIDING CULTURE CHANGE AMONG ALASKAN ESKIMOS

(First Part)

by WENDELL H. OSWALT

Sumario

El estudio de las varias formas, tanto históricas como contemporáneas, de modificaciones culturales introducidas entre los eskimales, constituye el tema del presente artículo. Al lado de su carácter expositivo, este estudio tiene una finalidad práctica: puede ser considerado como una guía para quienes trabajan entre los eskimales, favoreciendo el proceso de su aculturación.

Distingue el autor tres etapas en el desarrollo social, religioso y económico de la población eskimal . La primera, comprende desde la penetración rusa hacia 1820, hasta 1867, en que los Estados Unidos compraron Alaska a Rusia. Las relaciones entre rusos y eskimales fueron fundamentalmente de tipo comercial y religioso. Algunos misioneros lograron conversiones al cristianismo ortodoxo-ruso.

El segundo período, se inicia con la adquisición de Alaska por los Estados Unidos y comprende hasta el año de 1915. Al descubrirse el oro en Alaska, se dejó sentir con mayor fuerza la presencia de gente venida de fuera. Desde entonces, la vida eskimal empezó a recibir, tanto de modificaciones culturales derivadas de la presencia de los norteamericanos.

Desde 1915, el interés de los Estados Unidos por Alaska y su población nativa se ha incrementado considerablemente. En relación con los eskimales, trabajan entre otros, el Servicio de Salubridad Uública de los Estados Unidos, el Departamento de Mejoramiento de Alaska, etc. Como se sabe, el desarrollo de Alaska, ha tenido por consecuencia su reciente admisión como Estado en la Unión Norteamericana.

A continuación se publica la primera parte de este estudio que comprende el primero de los períodos arriba mencionados, al igual que los principios de la presencia norteamericana en Alaska, mostrándose en forma directa la situación y transformaciones culturales de los eskimales durante ese lapso de tiempo. En el próximo número de esta revista se concluirá la publicación de este trabajo.

Introduction. This paper is designed to serve as a practical guide to administrators and field workers who desire to introduce changes into the lives of western Alaskan Eskimos. The plan of the paper includes suggestions for directing programs of change on the administrative level, a hypothetical change program on the community level, and finally an evaluation of currently important village issues. It has been assumed that the innovator lacks a first-and knowledge of the Western Eskimo, and thus some of the ideas developed are elementary and may seem obvious to the administrator or field worker experienced in the area. It is hoped that the information will be

broadly useful to the tyro and may provide the seasoned innovator with new approaches to some enduring problems.

This study is restricted to a consideration of the largest concentration of Alaskan Eskimos with a modified aboriginal subsistence economy. These are the Yupik speaking Eskimos who inhabit the central Bering Sea coast and adjecent inland areas of western Alaska; in plotting the course of contact and change, particular attention has been devoted to the inhabitants of the lower Kuskowin River. The Yupik people of Alaska along the central Bering Sea region are still primarily hunters and fishermen who trap fur animals for cash and trade-goods. They occuppy a region of Alaska which is physically isolated and economically unattractive, and therefore they have had relatively little intensive contact with Euro-American culture. There were casual Rusian contacts from the 1820's to 1867 when the United States purchased Alaska, but it was not until the influx of gold seekers at the turn of the last century that significant numbers of outsiders arrived. The prospectors of this era were a fleeting influence, and the only enduring non-Eskimo residents of this vast area have been a few missionaries and traders. However, in recent years the federal and territorial governments have become actively interested in the pleople of this region, and it is to the federal and new state agencies that this study is primarily directed.

The territorial and federal agencies recognized the staggering health and perennial economic problems of the region and attmpted to improve these conditions. Today, the federal or state school system reaches to even the most remote villages. The modern U. S. Public Healt Service hospital in Bethel serves the most critical health needs; public health nurses carry out a program of prophylactic medicine in the villages. The Arctic Health Research Center of The US. Public Health Service has initiated a dynamic chemo-therapy program designed to erradicate tuberculosis. The Alaska Housing Authority has improved significantly housing standards in many villages, and the Alaska Rural Development Board has begun to make a survey of needs prior to supporting projects for raising village economic standards. Likewise the Alaska Department of Welfare provides welfare assitence in most villages. It is apparent to even the casual visitor that life in the villages is changing rapidly; many problems have been ameliorated and greater changes are certain to occur.

Each of the agencies pursuing village projects has made its own survey of needs and devised methods for implementing change. Each survey has been made in the light of a specific problem or problems, and tre methods have been designed to lead to specific goals. As a result, there has been little over-all program coordination. It is hoped

that this paper will provide a more comprehensive understanding of Eskimo needs on the village level. It does not proport to be a critique of past administrations nor a statistical analysis of the current scene; rather, it is an attempt to recognize and define problems and to offer alternative means to their solution.

The field data of this study were collected from 1948 through 1957 when the writer visited most of the villages in the Yukon-Kuskokwin aera during the course of anthropological studies. Some villages were visited for a few hours, others for a few weeks, and a year-long study was made of one lower Kuskokwin River village. Additional information has been derived from published reports, goverment files, and correspondece with administrators in the region.

I am grateful to the following individuals who generously supplied information on specific subjects: Mr. D. H. Ralston and Mr. C. Fiscus of the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service; Mr. J. H. Forshaug, Mr. P. Winsor and Mrs. M. McDougall of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; and Mrs. J. Mendola of Oscarville. The information upon which this study is based was collected by the writer while supoprted by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Alaska, the Arctic Institute of North America, the U. S. National Park Service and the U. S. Air Force Aeromedical Laboratory of Ladd Air Force Base, Alaska. I am extremely grateful to the representatives of these organizations for their generous aid. The writing of this paper was sponsored by the Comins Fund of the University of Arizona, and I am grateful to Dr. E. H. Spicer, Dr. W. H. Kelly, and Mrs. C. L. Tanner, members of the Comins Fund Committee, for their interest in the project and its goals. Dr E. H. Spicer and Dr. J. W. Van Stone have read this paper, and their penetrating comments and criticism are gratefully acknowledged.

Historical Background

Rusian period, 1829-1867. Throughtout the Rusian occupation the Bering Sea area of Alaska beyond Bristol Bay represented the relatively unknown north. The shallow coasts between the Yukon and Kuskokwin river mouths were never fully explored, even though by 1822 an expedition had been organized to chart the region from Bristol Bay to Norton Sound. The first major inland penetration by the Russians was the exploration of the Kuskokwin River en 1829. St. Michael's was established on an island just beyond the north mouth of the Yukon River in 1833, and by 1841 there was a permanent Kuskokwin fort and trading post at Kolmakovsky along the middle course of the Kuskokwin River (Documents Relative to the History of Alaska ([henceforth *DRHA.*], 1938; Bancroft, 1886).

At the time the Russians penetrated the Kuskokwin River region, the Russian American Company was well established and the Russians were seeking new sources of furs. They came as traders and missionaries, not as conquerors or settlers. Many of the early explorers were of mixed Russian and native American extraction; this was no doubt a factor which eased the conditions of contact. The Russians often married Eskimos and were accompanied by Eskimos from the Bristol Bay region who had much the same language and culture as did the lower Kuskokwin peoples.

Probably the most extensive and enduring change effected by the Russians was their introduction of Christianity into the region. In 1844 Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church missionaries (henceforth Russian Orthodox or Orthodox) established permanent church headquarters at Russian Mission on the Yukon River in order to carry out their missionary progam on the adjacent Being Sea coast, the Yukon River, and the Kuskokwin River trading post of Kolmakovsky, while Russian Mission had an established school by 1850 and Kolmakovsky a temporary school in 1861 (*DRHA.*, 1938). Following the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867 Orthodox church activities declined along the Kuskokwin River; there was a resurgence of activity after 1890, following the local establishment of Roman Catholic and Moravian missionaries.

Some of the Orthodox priests who worked among the Kuskokwin peoples were of mixed Russian, Eskimo, and or Aleut ancestry, and they appear to have felt close ties to the people with whom they were working. In light of the intermittency of their village contacts, it seems rather remarkable that they were able to penetrate as far inland as the Telida Lake region by 1900 (Le Febre 1956: 268). Conversations with Mr. Matthew Berezken, who came to the region as an Orthodox song leader in 1906 and was ordained as a priest in 1908, indicated that the Orthodox missionaries imposed their system beliefs gradually upon the existing religion. They did, however, change certain features of the village social structure rather quickly. In aboriginal times Kuskokwin Eskimo villages apparently had little internal organization beyond ties with kin. There are indications that for certain ceremonial occasions the men were divided on the basis of the seating arrangement in the *kashgee* (ceremonial structure), but even this division was undoubtedly based upon kinship ties. In any event after the Orthodox missionaries had become established in a village, they appointed a "chief to represent their interests. They also organized a church Brotherhood to serve as a mutual aid association.

Another lasting Russian innovation has been the hot stone and water steam bath. Before Russian contact Eskimos of south-western

Alaska bathed in the *kashgee* by building a fire in a central pit and using hot air to induce perspiration. The Russian steambath was taken in a small bath house where stones were heated and water splashed upon the stones to produce steam which induced perspiration. The advantages of the Russian bath include the need for much less wood per bath than that required in the *kashgee* and the elimination of the eye-smarting smoke of the hot air bath. The Russian bath appears to have been used at the early trading establishments of Kolmakovsky, Bethel, and Vinasale, and it became the established bathing technique along the middle course of the Kuskokwim River before it was habitually used in the lower river villages. One of the important modifications brought about by the Russian bath house is that the small bath houses in some villages have become the private property of individual nuclear or extended families. Girls and women bathe in them, whereas they never bathed in the *kashgee*. The bath house also has taken over some of the social functions of the *kashgee*.

American period, 1867- . The Kolmakovsky trading posts was abandoned by the Russian American Company in 1866, but it continued to function as a trading center in the early American period. However, with the closure of the Russian American Company the Kuskokwin was no longer supplied by the overland routes from St. Michael or Nushagak; the San Francisco trading companies now operating in the area supplied their traders by ship from anchorages at the mouth of the Kuskokwin River. This greatly facilitated trading operations and made it possible to supply the area more efficiently. At this time the former secondary Russian trading center, Bethel, became the primary American trading center, supliying the Kuskokwin River system with trade goods in exchange for furs.

The importance of Bethel increased considerably after the Moravian church established its headquarters there in 1884 and began an extensive mission program (Schwalbe 1951). The Roman Catholic church also established a Kuskokwim mission around this time, and shortly thereafter the Orthodox church again began stationing priests permanently on the Kuskokwim at Little Russian Mission.

The discovery of the Klondike gold deposits of Canada in 1898 spurred an intensive search for gold throughout much of Alaska, and with the Nome and Fairbanks strikes western Alaska was over-run by gold seekers.

There were a few prospectors in the lower Kuskokwim area by 1898 (Schwalbe, 1951: 75), but it was not until the Innoko River strike in 1907 that large numbers ascended the Kuskokwim River on their way to the Innoko diggings. In general the Kuskokwim gold deposits were unimportant compared with other Alaskan strikes, and apart from

the cinnibar around Sleetmiut, the gold on the upper Tuluksak River, and the Tokotna gold fields, the Kuskokwim has never been subject to extensive mining operations.

The significant innovation brought by the gold seekers was the fishwheel, which radically changed the fishing habits of the Eskimos and Athabaskan Indians along the middel course of the river. The fishwell is a device for lifting fish out of the water by means of wire mesh dippers that rotate with the current and are mounted on a raft.

The fish as they are dipped from the river slide down a shoot and are deposited in a box at the side of the raft. The fishwheel had long been used on the Roanoke River in North Carolina and was patented for Columbia River salmon fishing in 1879. In 1904 it was used on the Tanana River near Fairbanks and slightly later, around 1910, was introduced to the lower Yukon River. It was first used on the Kuskokwim by gold seekers at Georgetown around 1914 (Cobb, 1930: 484-85; Gilbert and O'Malley 1921: 143; Oswalt, field notes). The acceptance of the fishwheel by Kuskokwim River peoples appears to have been extremely rapid. The innovation made it possible to catch many more fish, especially salmon, and by doing so offered more stability to the subsistence pattern. Since the fishwheel will not function where there is tide-water, it is not used along the lower Kuskokwim River below the village of Tuluksak. The fishwheel has had a lasting effect upon the economy, particularly with reference to summer settlement patterns and the diviscion of labor during the fishing season.

In recent years Bethel has become the important administrative and trading center for the Kuskokwim River region. The first federal school at Bethel was built in 1913 and the first territorial school established in 1923. In 1916 the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters was in Aniak, and a small hospital was completed there in 1918. However, in 1938 the Bureau of Indian Affairs built a larger hospital in Bethel, and Aniak was replaced by Bethel as the regional health and education headquarters. In 1922 the U. S. Signal Corps established a telegraph station at Bethel, and in the same year the first air plane arrived. An air strip was built in 1937, another to accommodate large air craft was built in 1942, and a third is currently being constructed (Drebert 1942).

Today, Bethel has five large trading posts, Moravian and Roman Catholic missions, a US. Public Health Service hospital, en Alaska Comunications System telegraph station, a large Civil Aeronautic Authority airport, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Alaska Native Service area office, a Territorial grade school and high school, a US. Commissione, a US. Deputy Marshal, a Federal jail, National Guard regional headquarters, two roadhouses, four restaurants, two pool hals,

and two theaters. It is also serviced by two scheduled commercial airlines. Bethel is the only fresh-water sea port in western Alaska and serves as the transfer point for cargo destined for up-river trading posts, mines, and government installations. Its 1950 population was around 650.

Susceptibility to change. One characteristc of western Alaska Eskimos which is of significance to the administrator is that changes are often accepted and even welcomed. The assimilation of an innovation is certainly selective, but no aspects of culture are ideally regarded as taboo to change. The lower Kuskokwin Eskimos have been in contact with Euro-American traditions for just over a hundred years, but only in the last 25 years have these contacts been relatively intensive. Even today many villages have no permanent white population apart from the government teachers. Yet, even though the intensity of contact has been low, the penetration of Euro-American concepts and technology has been great.

The susceptibility to change may be illustrated by noting the changes which have occurred in a village of 140 persons near the trading center of Bethel. Here there was reportedly an old Russian trading post, probably around 1860, but it was soon abondened. There is no further evidence of contact with whites until the 1880's, when the Moravian church attempted to establish itself in the village. The people seem, for reasons that are not clear, to have preferred the Russian Orthodox faith with which they were vaguely familiar and which won its first village converts around 1906. The Moravian church soon withdrew from the village, and by 1931 a Russian Orthodox church had been built. The first Bureau of Indian Affairs school was opened in 1939, and there is still no post office or trading post in the village, although these facilities are available a few miles away. Apparently only one white man ever was considered a permanent resident, and he lived there for a few years just after the turn of the last century.

The religion of these people today is that of the Orthodox faith, and any village religious dogma which does not conform with modern Orthodoxy is usually traceable not to the aboriginal Eskimo religion but to a somewhat archaic form of Orthodoxy.

When Orthodoxy was introduced into the vilage it was readily accepted, and for years the church services were held in the village ceremonial structure. One of the prominent leaders of the aboriginal ceremonies became a leader in the Orthodox church. The priests visited the village infrequently but did appoint a village "chief" as their representative for the church. The individual selected was a powerful old man, powerful since he had a large extended family in the vil-

lage and was its eldest male. The priests later organized a church Brotherhood to serve as a mutual aid society, and it was probably then that the feeling of community responsibility became recognized. These changes wrought by the Orthodox church penetrated deep into the core of village life, and yet there is little evidence that overt conflict or serious disorganization took place.

Village social organization has been partially redirected through US. government stimulus. When the first Alaska Native Service (ANS.) school opened in 1939, families with children of school age were forced to modify their yearly trapping cycle by eliminating fall camp as a family enterprise. This change in the subsistence round is said to have decreased the trappers' catch and income considerably and has reduced the opportunities to train young boys in trapping techniques. Although families have complied by remaining in the village during the school year, the resentment against this introduction still endures.

During World War II the situation in Alaska led to the creation of the Alaska Territorial Guard, which organized village scouting units as an arm of the U. S. Army along the lines of a military hierarch. This system of organization within a village was completely foreign to the village social structure, and it was imposed virtually by fiat. Today the National Guard has replaced the Alaska Territorial Guard, and the efficiency of the village units is quite in keeping with Army requirements. An informal village council was created through stimulus and usually acts only in crisis situations; it is nonetheless a vehicle of village cooperation and government.

Perhaps the greatest changes have been in material culture. The former semi-subterranean house has ben replaced by the log cabin or frame dwelling, The everyday tools used in making a living are virtually all brought into the village via the trading posts or mail order houses, although many of the techniques of workmanship have been retained from aboriginal times. Cloting, apart from parkas and footwear, is almost entirely purchased or made from materials purchased from the trading post or a mail order house.

These changes and many others have virtually all occurred within the last 50 years, and there is no doubt that the lower Kuskokwim River Eskimos have begun to conform to the behavior and value systems visualized by missionaries, traders, and administrators. While the Eskimos of this area are a long way from being assimilated into white Alaskan society, neither do they begin to represent the aboriginal Eskimo of a hundred years ago.

Implementing Change on the Administrative Level

Planning a pogram of change. The administrative goals are usually the first consideration in a potential program of change; almost inevitably it is a government bureau which initiates the action necessary to introduce a new idea or technique. The agency is giving and theoretically the Eskimos art receiving; hire this is often the foundation upon which program is developed, it is not necessarily sound beginning. If the villagers could be drawn into the program at the planning stage and be made to realize that both the agency and the villagers are faced with a common problem, the conditions for potential introductions would be more favorable.

Before planning a change program it would be useful to consult with persons in the area particularly since there is very little published information concerning these people and their environment. If the local people are not drawn into the program of change, they may, through disinterest or misunderstanding, be hostile or negative in their attitudes toward the innovations. In the lower Kuskokwim River region, consultants should include missionaries, Bureau of Indian Affairs and U. S. Public Health Service personnel, village Eskimos, social welfare workers and anthropologists. If these representatives are selected carefully and the broad aims of the program outlined as a basis from which to work, a constructive and feasible field program is virtually assured. One drawback in such a planning approach is the scarcity of individuals other than villagers who are sufficiently acquainted with the area and its problems to make sound and intelligent recommendations. The missionaries are the only non-Eskimo group intimately familiar with the region. They are usually long-time local residents, practical in their views, intelligent, and most of all vitally concerned with the welfare of the people.

After the form of culture change has been isolated and agreed upon, the specific problems can be outlined and a list of general aims established, again after consultations. The next step is to define the goals in practical terms. No matter how well a program is conceived, if it cannot be feasibly implemented in the field, it will have little lasting value. Since change is essentially a substitution of one way of doing something for another, both functional utility and compatibility should be considered. Not only must the innovation successfully replace a former trait, but also it must function in harmony with the rest of the culture. Here again consultations with village Eskimos, missionaries, and perhaps long-term Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers should give insights into compatible substitutions. Village Eskimos in particular

can make good suggestions along these lines since they can be disarmingly practical in evaluating changes that will affect them.

Before a field program is planned, the general context of the change requires consideration. One potentially fruitful approach is a more complete utilization of local resources. For example, if personal cleanliness is the aim of the program of change, improving or expanding existing steam bath facilities would seem more reasonable than trying to introduce home bathing in a basin, shower, or bathtub. Each of the latter has many drawbacks, not only in practical terms of water supplies and crowded home conditions, but also in terms of the existing social system.

Another consideration is that the more disseminated an innovation can be in a village, the greater its potential value may be to the group. Often a change is introduced to one family or group of families with no attempt then or later to spread the ideas or techniques through the society, with the result that success of the innovation is only partial.

Still other practical considerations may include such aims as making the program comparatively simple to implement so that it does not require a proliferation of new skills or a substantial cash outlay on the part of the villagers involved.

These suggestions may appear to be so fundamental that they do not deserve comment; however, a number of change programs have failed in western Alaska through the ignoring of just such principles.

Following the program arrangement, the time of its initial introduction into a village should be carefully planned. The seasonal work round among the people of this region is extremely varied; there are times of the year when adults are often tired and over-worked and other times when they have a great deal of leisure. It is difficult to generalize concerning the work round since it varies with the local resources, but the early summer is usually an extremely busy time, especially for salmon fishers, and late fall is often a slack period. In early winter the men are busy trapping, and in the spring very often entire villages are abandoned when families go to their muskrat camps. Mid-winter is usually the period of least activity, and at this time programs could be initially presented to the villagers.

Field personnel. The success or failure of a program will often depend upon the field personnel involved; therefore, great care should be exercised in making the selection. A speaking knowledge of the language is vital, and yet seldom, if ever, has this been a requirement. It may be argued that few people who speak Yupik Eskimo would be qualified in other skills necessary to introduce the changes. However, along the Kuskokwin there are any number of persons of Eskimo or mixed Eskimo and white ancestry who would be quite capable of

filling innovative roles that are not highly technical. Even when the requirements of the innovative role are complex, as with a medical doctor or sanitary engineer, it would be a distinct advantage to employ an Eskimo from the region as a full-time staff member to accompany and aid the specialist. This would not only give the Eskimo employee training in the techniques of the innovator but would give the villagers much more rapport with the innovative personnel. It is advantageous that the innovator have a more than casual knowledge of the area and the people, which again makes a local person a likely candidate. Since young persons do not as a rule command village- wide respect nor have a high prestige position, the best innovator would be "middle-aged" or older. In this area being a young, good hunter does not result in outstanding village or extended family leadership as it does among some other Eskimo groups. Women innovators are not likely to be as successful as men except in highly specialized innovative roles, since Eskimo women rarely assume overt positions of leadership or authority unless they are old or very unusual individuals.

Perhaps the greatest drawback of innovative programs in western Alaska has been the transient nature of the personnel. No sooner do the villagers become acquainted with one administrator than he or she leaves the region. The "tourist" nurses, social workers, teachers, medical doctors, etc., are hardly an asset to any enduring program. There are exceptions to this generality, but they are unfortunately few. It would be highly desirable to select non-Eskimo persons who have an enduring interest in the area and its people and would be willing, long-term administrative personnel.

Changes on the Village Level

Village selectio. Careful selection of the "test" village may affect to a considerable degree the sucess or failur of the program. At the very least, data on various villages should be consulted; even more valuable would be visits to the villages determined to the most likely possibilities. Perhaps the most useful general information may be obtained from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alaska Native Service, yearly statistical surveys for villages in which there are schools. The information available in these surveys offers a general index into conditions in any particular village and includes population figures, sources of income, subsistence orientations, and cash income broken down into various categories. The accuracy of this information varies greatly from village to village, depending upon the interests and diligence of the teacher compiling it, but the statistical surveys are certainly the best available village data sheets.

Villages with a stable population seem to be better integrated and more viable than are villages in which there is a constant influx and exodus of families. In the lower Kuskokwin River communities families who cannot adjust to village life leave of their own accord or else are asked to leave. These maladjusted families tend to settle among others of their kind, and certain villages may be composed of persons who are virtual outcasts. For certain programs this "type" of village might be preferable, while other programs might require more stable settlements.

The accessibility of a village may be significant. The villages farthest from population centers are often assumed to be more aboriginal in their way of life, but is not always the case. Same of the villages which appear to be the most tradition oriented, are near population centers with which they have frequent but casual contact. Accessibility often depends on the presence of a US. Post Office; if there is one, the village will have regular scheduled service and frequent direct contact with the larger population centers. A village without a post office can be visited only by chartering an air plane or boat, and such special trips tend to be infrequent. It should be noted that it is not necessarily the distant villages which lack post offices.

Accessibility also means that the innovator can make more frequent trips to the community if necessary and that communication with administrators can be more regular.

Another factor which might well be considered is the religious affiliations of the villagers. Members of certain church denominations have the reputation of being more conservative than other. For example, Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic villages are more tradition oriented than are Moravian villages. If more than one denomination is represented in a village, resultant religious factions may have the social system unstable and disorganized.

Village housing for the innovator. Selecting his home in the village is a very important step on the part of the innovator. He may stay either in ANS. school housing, in an unoccupied dwelling, or with a village family. The teachers have traditionally been the hosts for white visitors to the villages; however, within the past few years, the flood of research teams and individual investigators has affected not only the teacher's leisure time and home life but his teaching schedule as well. The time has come, and with certain justification, when visiting scientists and feld personnel of the various government agencies are unwelcome in the homes of some teachers. One alternative is for the individual or agency interested in a particular village to rent and equip a house. This is probably the best procedure if there is a

house available for rent in the village. Often, however, there are no vacant houses, in which case it may be possible to rent a room of a house. Such a procedure might be quite satisfactory, for it would allow some privacy and yet would introduce the field representative to house hold routine. It is rather ironic that while most persons coming to a village are interested in Eskimo village life and home conditions, they never consider arranging to stay with an Eskimo family. This obvious way of becoming acquainted with individuals and problems first hand is rarely utilized.

The initial meeting of villagers. Habitually, an outsider arriving in a village first visits the teacher to explain the purpose of his visit and his anticipated program. Actually these facts should be made known to the teacher before entering the village so that he may be prepared to cooperate with the program as much as is possible. It should be mentioned that the teacher may do a great deal to further any village program. The teacher may have more insight into the social situation than any other individual outside of the enduring village structure. The degree of co-operation of the teacher usually depends upon his personality. Most teachers are helpful, but there are individuals who are ill-adapted to village life and may hinder a program. The teacher is likely to introduce the innovator to individuals who do not necessarily reflect general village attitudes or opinions; in fact, there is a very good chance that the Eskimos who have the personality qualities that make them friendly with a white teacher are somewhat marginal to the village social system. This factor should be kept in mind at the onset of any village program.

Upon initial entry into a village the investigator should by all means obtain an introduction to the village church representatives, Eskimo and/or white. Very often the missionary in a village is by-passed, but to do so is perhaps to lose the cooperation of at least a segment of the village. It is also desirable to meet with the trader and explain one's purposes to him. Another recognized village authority is the village council, which may be a formally organized body functioning under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act or an informal group of village elders. They too should be mame fully aware of the purposes and plans of one's program.

The aims of the program should likewise be explained to all other individuals or groups as soon as possible. It is a virtual certainty that there are individuals in the village who resent the newcomer's presence. Such persons may easily start false rumors concerning his purposes unless these are clearly and often stated to anyone who is interested. If the investigator does not state his position, and often

even if he does, false rumors which could seriously jeopardize future work in the village are likely to be disseminated.

One technique for making the aims and objectives of the program understood widely in the village is the showing of a free motion picture. The picture need not be concerned with the project at hand but be designed to gather the people together at one time in order to explain the program. A free motion picture would be favorably received in most villages. However, some religious groups do not approve of movies, and therefore prior inquiries should be made concerning the attitudes of the villagers.

Contacts with villagers. Unless the field representative speaks Eskimo, his only contacts in the village will be or through English-speaking Eskimos. Under these circumstances, there is inmmediately a segment of the village with whom the investigator may communicate only through an interpreter. In most Eskimo villages there are many men and women under 30 years of age who speak English; they have usually atented ANS. schools and understand many aspects of Euro-American culture. There usually are also a few older persons who were educated in mission schools and speak English well. It is the latter segment of the population whom the innovator should contact rather than the younger English speakers, since age is an important prestige factor among Eskimos. However, these older English-speaking Esquimos, especially those who are anxious to be interpreters, may nos be fully representative of the community. It is often such individuals with whom the innovator first becomes acquainted since they are the most readily approachable. In the same context, the investigator may fail to extend his acquaintance in the village beyond this sphere, and in so doing he may remain unaware of varying village opinions, if such exist, and seriously handicap his program's chances of success.

It is usually considered impolite to ask an Eskimo his name directly, since one's name is somewhat sacred and not to be used freely. The same would apply to telling one's own name. It is, however, acceptable to ask someone else the name of a particular individual. It is true that this practice is giving way to formal introductions as we know them, in which one's name is stated. Some Eskimos have come to expect this from whites; as a rule, however, the white way is not approved. Kuskokwim Eskimos generally avoid close body contact with strangers, and while hand shaking is a habitual form of introduction and greeting, the Eskimo usually grasps the visitor's hand very lightly and the same is expected in return. Eskimos in this area today may greet each other with the word "hello" in Eskimo, and whites with a superficial familiarity with Eskimo may greet a villager with the Eskimo words "hello, how are you." However, one Eskimo would

seldom greet another in this fashion; to ask about one's health is a serious subject, not a casual means of introduction. This type of transposal of an English greeting into Eskimo is not appropriate.

If the innovator is to stay in the village for any length of time, other problems may arise which are somewhat disconcerting. For example, when visting one another, the Eskimos of many villages do not knock on the door of a house before entering. This very common practice strikes many whites as strange and may catch them unaware. Then too, villagers may visit the investigator and talk very little. They may be curious, or they may just want to get away from their own homes; in any event, the host is not expected to carry on a steady conversation with visitors. In fact, if he does, the visitor will often feel ill at ease.

Another problem that often confronts the outsider is how much to pay for services. This is particularly difficult since many if not most Eskimos will not ask for the amount they think they deserve. Often some idea of prevailing pay scales can be obtained from a teacher or trader, but the amount these individuals would pay and that which is expected of an outsider are not necessarily the same. A frequent Eskimo complaint is that whites expect Eskimos to work for very little money and yet Eskimos must pay high prices for goods and services from whites. People are sometimes rather bitter about underpayment, and more than one trader or teacher has paid the Eskimo an additional amount after he has been paid by a white visitor. It is best to attempt to determine a fair price and in case of doubt overpay rather than underpay.

Village social organization. The Eskimos of the lower Kuskokwim River region, unlike many aboriginal groups throughout the world, do not have any formal supra-community organization. There is no feeling of "tribal" unity to unite various villages. This is important in attempting to direct change, for there is no Eskimo organization through which to communicate above the village level. There are ties among certain villages, but these are based upon kinship, trading relations, or religious affinities and do not function to organize politically an area or region.

Still another facet of village organization complicates the introduction of change. In most communities there is comparatively little over-all organization. Nearly every village has a formally or informally organized council of males. Both the informal councils and those organized under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act tend to function only in crisis situations, and there is no sustained political organization in a village acting during the normal course of events.

The village institutions which function as cohesive social units

are the various forms of family organization, i.e., nuclear, nuclear core, or extended families. Only when some disrupting event cuts across family lines is some sort of council action necessary. It seems to the writer that there is no felt need for an organization to sustain community life because there is essentially no community feeling except in crises. If the most important organizational unit is the family, any formal change would be implemented primarily through the individual families. Perhaps the most important implication of the foregoing is that most of the effort in having change accepted should be applied at a family level.

An explanation for the absence of any feeling of village unity is probably to be found in the nature of the subsistence round. In nearly every village each man can be economically self-sufficient. A man usually traps, hunts and fishes alone or with very near relatives or friends, and there is little need for economic cooperation beyond the extended family. The need for socializing rather than economic need attracts people to village life and to combined trapping camps. After living in a Kuskokwim River village for a year, I had seen only one clear-cut example of village-wide cooperation in subsistence activities.

Other facets of village political leadership, although variable among villages, should be noted. In certain villages, particularly those in which the Russian Orthodox church has been most active, a role of village chief has come into existence. The early Russian Orthodox priests apparently appointed an influential villager to represent the church when the priest was not present. This position seems to have involved only responsibility to the church; however, in more recent years the chief has become an elected person and has assumed secular authority along with continuing his religious roles. Quite often a chief is a very influential person, and he should be drawn into any program in so far as is possible.

In villages where there is a National Guard unit the noncommissioned officer in charge is usually an individual who speaks good English and has considerable understanding of white culture and military matters. This person is often able to lend assistance with or without first requesting cooperation through the local unit readquarters at Bethel. The National Guar form of organization is incompatible with the existing village social system, however, and for this reason cooperation secured through the N. G. is sometimes unrewarding.

Perhaps the most constant and widespread pattern of village leadership accompanies the authority of an elder male in an extended family. A man who has grown sons in the village with families of their own is often in a position to direct the economic activities of these sons, partially through his control and ownership of dog teams, boats and

outboard motors. Such an elder male may not be an active council member or the chief, but he is in actuality very influential. Several such old men in one village may be behind any major extended family decisions. It sometimes happens that an elderly woman will have the same general position of authority over sons and/or sons-in-law. However, for a woman to be in such a position is much less common, and the individual involved is usually of exceptional ability.

The family. At the present time most village household units consist of a nuclear family, i.e., a man and wife and the children being raised by them, or a nuclear core family, consisting of a nuclear family and a few additional persons closely related to either the husband or wife. In most villages too, there are households of extended families, i.e., a mand and wife, married sons and/or daughters and their children. A reconstruction of the ethnographic past indicates that until quite recently the extended family was the most common form of household unit. In extended family households, both past and present, the eldest male who is not senile makes virtually all important decisions affecting household members and is the acknowledge leader of the unit. The decline in the number of extended families has brought a decrease in the scope of authority of most elder males.

Village elders and marriageable persons alike express a preference for marriages between individuals from the same village. This ideal of village endogamy cannot be realized completely since total village populations are too small and interrelated to provide a sufficient number of eligible marriage partners. Generally, marriages between individuals who are closer in relationship than 3rd cousins are not acceptable. The bride most often moves to her husband's village, and only rarely, as in a second marriage or in the case of an orphaned male who has no strong local ties, is there any probability that the man will settle in his wife's village. For a year or two after marriage the couple may live with the husband's family, or less often with the wife's family, but they will build their own home in the man's village as soon as possible. In the nuclear family today, the roles of husband and wife are quite different from those maintained in the extended family. Under the current arrangement, a man's wife has more individual freedom, is less subservient to her mother-in-law, and has more complete charge of household affairs. The man has an increased responsibility for providing food, shelter, and clothing for his wife and children. This is a marked departure from the former life of an extended family, in which both the young husband and wife were bound to decisions made by the older generation. It gives the young adults more responsibility, and at the same time it gives them more opportunity to manage their own affairs.

Individual Eskimos as agents of change. The Kuskokwim Eskimos are surprisingly rational in viewing both their own culture and that of the whites with whom they have contact. In general they do not seem to be oriented toward a traditional way of life; they are susceptible to change and often seek it out rather than recoil from it. It has often been noted that Eskimo ecological adaptations through time have been remarkably flexible, and it would seem likely that the social system was and is similarly oriented. If this generalization is valid, it would be important to an innovator. However, its validity has been partially verified for only a single village setting.

As has been implicitly noted earlier, village leadership is an extremely amorphous and diffuse domain. Since religious and political authority is in the hands of many individuals, it might be best to work directly with family "leaders." As the time of historic contact, no single individual could begin to represent a village except for certain ceremonial occasions. However, there was a semblance of village leadership in the hands of a good trapper and fisherman who was a forceful speaker and had a large extended family from whom he could draw support. I think that much the same situation still exists. Modifications have had some impact, such as the Orthodox "chief" and village councils inspired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but these new roles often serve solely as channels through which the village can deal with the outside world, not as forms of in-village leadership.

Assuming that this diffuse leadership pattern exists, one manner in which village leaders could be isolated would be through an analysis of kinship ties. This formidable task con often be simplified by obtaining access to the A.N.S. household files which contain this information. After village relationships by marriage and blood have been determined, it is readily seen which individuals have the largest numbers of kin. If women (unless the program is oriented specifically toward females) and senile persons are deleted, it is likely that the remainder, the elder males with the broadest kin ties, are village leaders.

It is also possible to obtain an index into village leadership by establishing the diverse statuses that any individual occupies in the community. This assumes that a person of many statuses is a true leader, but such an assumption is not always verifiable as in the case of some old men. It is sometimes difficult to obtain status information in a short period of time, but it is another possible key.

Problems. A certain amount of individual or group hostility may be expected. It is good to be aware of this and take steps to minimize it. Usually hostility will not be difficult to discern, for it will most often take the form of avoidance, non-cooperation, and perhaps, in extreme cases, refusal to talk with the investigator. It should be point-

ed out, however, that some Eskimos of this region are genuinely shy. Although this may be taken to indicate hostility, it is actually a self-conscious feeling, particularly if the Eskimo is forced to speak English and is not accustomed to doing so. Perhaps the best attack against hostility is to repeat whenever the opportunities arise precisely what the innovator hopes to accomplish and how it will affect the villagers.

Another source of hostility may be due to misunderstandings. Frequently Eskimos are forced to speak and listen to English when they have relatively little familiarity with it. Often it happens that individuals do not understand what is being said, and they consequently misinterpret English statements. The same occurs when the innovator speaks poor Eskimo.

Non-Eskimos and their reactions to change programs. Often non-Eskimos who have intimate contacts with various communities can play an important role in interpreting a program to the villagers. Such persons may include teachers, missionaries, and perhaps nurses, doctors, or pilots. It is necessary to explain the program as fully as possible to such individuals and attempt to draw them into the planning and execution if they are willing to help. It sometimes happens that non-Eskimos who have a vested interest in a community may be less receptive to changes than are the Eskimos concerned. Hostility among non-Eskimos is greatest if the purposes of the program are not clearly and explicitly explained. If the resistance of such individuals is firm and their methods devious, it is extremely difficult to gain the confidence of the villagers.

RESEÑAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS

HEALTH IN THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE. A Community Study. Margaret Clark. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California. Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 59-5742; 1959. 253 pp. Photograph on the jacket by Leonard Nadel.

Durante los últimos años se ha concedido mucha atención en los Estados Unidos de Norte América a la aplicación adecuada de medidas de salubridad pública entre grupos denominados minoritarios.

Estos, entre los cuales quedan comprendidos los mexicanos-norteamericanos o sea los ciudadanos norteamericanos de origen mexicano, son grupos étnicos y lingüísticos que discrepan del resto de la población nacional del país, no solamente en sus características etno-lingüísticas, sino también en sus tradiciones, creencias y costumbres, las cuales conservan por generaciones, viviendo muchas veces dentro de círculos sociales cerrados que les aislan del resto de la cultura nacional.

Llegan a buen número las investigaciones llevadas a cabo en distintos Estados de la Unión por eminentes sociólogos y antropólogos entre grupos de mexicanos-norteamericanos con la mira de conocer sus idiosincracias y así poder formular recomendaciones para que el personal de Salubridad Pública pueda poner en práctica medidas preventivas y curativas, entre los mismos, con mayores probabilidades de buen éxito.

El interés de tales estudios está centrado, tanto en la identificación de los valores y actitudes que sirven de base a la conducta del común de las gentes frente a sus enfermedades físicas y mentales, cuanto en la observación de las medidas sociales, clínicas, terapéuticas, religiosas o mágicas de que se valen para aliviar sus males.

Una de estas investigaciones se emprendió durante los años 1954-1955 en "Sal si Puedes", pequeño barrio mexicano-norteamericano de la ciudad de San José, Condado de Santa Clara, California. La fundación Rosemberg de San Francisco, Calif., proporcionó los fondos para el trabajo de campo que estuvo a cargo de los antropólogos Margaret y Clark y Thomas McCorcle, asesorados por un comité de antropólogos de la Universidad de California.

Los materiales recopilados sirvieron para que Margaret Clark escribiera su tesis doctoral, en cuyo documento se basó un comité editorial para la preparación de la obra: *Health in the Mexican-American Culture. A Community Study.*

Los materiales provenientes de la tesis doctoral de Clark parecen haber sido seleccionados para su publicación sin la supervisión directa de la autora. Un ejemplo de ello son las frecuentes comparaciones

entre elementos culturales o situaciones observadas directamente en San si Puedes, con otros que se considera puedan ser idénticos o semejantes y fueron a su vez observados en la República Mexicana por antropólogos norteamericanos en distintas épocas, en lugares alejados geográficamente de Sal si Puedes y culturalmente diferentes entre sí, tales como Dzitás, Yucatán; Mitla, Oaxaca; Cherán, Michoacán; Tecospa, Distrito Federal; Tepoztlán, Morelos, etc. En ese caso se corre el peligro de llegar a falsas generalizaciones si no se analizan los valores, actitudes y formas de conducta universales y alternativos de cada una de las subculturas de que se trate.

Tales intentos de generalización restan en vez de prestar validez a estudios de especialización como el de Clark, de donde el lector recibe la impresión de que el enlace entre los elementos o situaciones culturales comparados deben tener una mejor solución de continuidad en la tesis original.

Ya que por el título de la obra se infiere que el meollo del tema tratado se relaciona con la medicina tradicional entre el grupo estudiado, otro aspecto digno de mencionarse es el hecho de que únicamente dos de los ocho capítulos que la componen se ocupan de la salud, las enfermedades y su tratamiento. Sin embargo, debe aclarase que las fallas apuntadas pueden considerarse más de forma que de contenido.

En efecto, como resultado de la metodología antropológica que siguió Clark durante el curso de su investigación, expone con atingencia el ethos del grupo y demuestra, de una manera implícita, que en grupos étnicos como el mexicano-norteamericano, cuya cultura está permeada de tradiciones místicas, los valores y actitudes conectados con la salud, las enfermedades y su tratamiento, se presentan como un fenómeno concomitante de la vida cotidiana del grupo en sus múltiples aspectos.

Además, Clark presenta su estudio con veracidad y modestia y lo convierte en un llamado para investigadores de las Ciencias Sociales, describiendo ante ellos, en forma sencilla y clara, las características de una pequeña comunidad poblada por un grupo minoritario, haciéndolo sin críticas acervas, con conocimiento de los problemas inherentes a cada situación que se presenta y con cariño por los materiales humanos con que trabaja.

Tal vez su aportación más valiosa consista en su recomendaciones al personal de Salubridad, hechas en lenguaje ordinario sin el uso complicado de terminología antropológica y abarcando, al mismo tiempo, medidas prácticas que se pueden llevar a cabo de inmediato sin que impliquen cambios en los métodos de la medicina moderna o en los reglamentos sanitarios vigentes, siendo todas ellas, por lo tanto, de fácil realización.

En resumen, se puede decir que el libro de Margaret Clark, a pesar de ciertas modalidades de forma que pudieron haber sido modificadas para dar mayor validez a la obra, ofrece aciertos que otros investigadores de las Ciencias Sociales pueden encontrar de valor para adoptarlos al proseguir sus propias investigaciones de campo.

A. E.

LA CONSTITUCIÓN REAL DE MÉXICO TENOCHTITLAN. Tesis Profesional, por Alfredo López Austin. México, 1960. 162 pp.

Desgraciadamente muy pocas veces se puede ver una tesis que aporte algo verdaderamente nuevo dentro del campo de la investigación. La presente lo logra. Y es, además, la primera cristalización de los esfuerzos que ha venido desarrollando el Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, que dirigen los Doctores Ángel María Garibay K. y Miguel León-Portilla. El autor, Alfredo López Austin, fue durante cuatro años uno de sus discípulos más aventajados. Aprendió la lengua náhuatl y pudo, así, traducir varios textos que lo ayudaron en el propósito que se había fijado: hacer una investigación del Derecho Constitucional de México-Tenochtitlan basado en los textos indígenas recogidos por los frailes españoles poco después de la conquista . Y en esto es diferente y superior su trabajo a otros que se habían llevado a cabo. Es la primera vez que se estudia el derecho prehispánico directamente en sus fuentes indígenas, lo que ha hecho que se logre un trabajo que aporta algo de gran importancia para nuestra historia jurídica. Y tal vez esto ayude, lo deseamos sinceramente, a que cada vez se tome mayor conciencia de lo importante del derecho del México precolombino y se instituya, algún día, una cátedra de Derecho Prehispánico en la Facultad de Derecho de nuestra máxima casa de estudios.

La tesis está estructurada en una Introducción, Cinco Capítulos, Conclusiones, un Apéndice y Bibliografía. Los grandes títulos de los capítulos son:

Capítulo Primero: Filosofía, Religión y Derecho.

Capítulo Segundo: Esquema de la Evolución política de Mexico Tenochtitlan.

Capítulo Tercero: El hombre dentro del Estado.

Capítulo Cuarto: El funcionamiento estatal.

Capítulo Quinto: Los derechos de familia, de propiedad y de las transacciones mercantiles.

Para ilustrar el interés de la Tesis que nos ocupa, glosaremos un

poco una de sus secciones. El Capítulo Cuarto, el Funcionamiento Estatal, se subdivide en: *a*) El Estado, *b*) El sistema de Gobierno, *c*) La Organización judicial, *d*) La Organización Eclesiástica, *e*) La Organización militar, *f*) La Organización escolar, *g*) La Organización, fiscal, y *h*) La Organización del Calpulli.

En la letra *c*), la Organización judicial, López Austin nos dice que, dado que había en México Tenochtitlan división social, y que el Derecho no era igual para todos los habitantes del Estado tenochca, había una separación de tribunales en el Derecho mexicano. Uno de ellos era el Tecalli o tribunal para la gente plebeya, los macehualtin. Había un Tecalli por cada calpulli o barrio. Del Códice Florentino López Austin extrae el siguiente texto, que presentamos sólo en parte, y que ilustra lo que al Tecalli se refiere:

> Casa del tecuhtli, lugar de la casa del tecuhtli, donde estaban los jueces, los tetecuhtin.
> Cada día frente a ellos se quejaban la cola, el ala (metáfora por la gente del pueblo), el macehualli.
> Con atención, detenidamente,
> se oía la acusación del macehualli;
> (conforme a) lo que referían los escritos en las pinturas, se veía la acusación,
> y así verificaban (los jueces),
> inquirían, pedían (que aclarasen)
> a los sabedores de algo, a los tetigos, que conocían a los quejosos en aquello que habían sufrido mengua, la causa por la que se quejaban los pleiteantes.

Había también un segundo tribunal para los mecehualtin llamado el Tlacxitlan, que el mismo Códice Florentino describe así:

> El Tlacxitlan, donde estaban los Tlatoque,
> los respetables pipiltin, los jueces.
> Todos los hechos, las acusaciones de la cola, del ala, del macehualli,
> ahí eran odídos, ahí eran juzgados,
> y todos los casos (de pena de muerte)
> allí (también) eran juzgados...

Había también otro tribunal, llamado del Tlatoani y del Cihuacóatl que recibía todas las causas cuya sentencia en el Tlacxitlan y en otros tribunales había sido de muerte. Dice el Códice Florentino:

> Y si algo estaba difícil
> lo llevaban al Tlatoani
> para que lo juzgaran ellos,
> los jueces nombrados
> Cihuacóatl, Tlacochcálcatl,

. . . . . .

Ellos, los jueces, pesquisaban,
raspaban, desnudaban la declaración de los hombres,
inquirían a los que sabían, a los testigos.

Otro tribunal, formado por dos jueces, un noble y un militar, conocía de los juicios provenientes de delitos cometidos por cortesanos y altos militares, y era llamado el Tecpilcalli. Volvamos al Códice Florentino:

Tecpilcalli, donde estaban,
donde se juzgaba a los pipiltin,
a los hombres valientes, a los oquichtin, a los expertos en la guerra.

Y así, el autor de esta Tesis nos va explicando cómo era la Organización judicial del México Tenochtitlan, pues además de los tribunales nombrados, habla del de Guerra, del Eclesiástico y escolar, y los Mercantiles.

Creemos que esto basta para indicar el gran interés de la Tesis que nos ocupa. Dicho sea de paso, este tipo de trabajos, además de ayudar en la investigación, sirven también para mostrar en toda su realidad el pasado indígena, y ayudan mucho a comprender mejor al indígena actual.

D. S. M.

MANUAL OF PHYSICAL ANTROPOLOGY, por *Juan Comas*. Charles C. Thomas, Springfield Illinois, U. S. A.; publicado simultáneamente en British Commonwealth of Nations por Blackwell Scientific Publications Ltd., 775 pp., 114 ilustraciones y 101 cuadros.

En el prólogo a su Manual de Antropología, publicado en México en 1957, el Dr. Comas nos indica con modestia que el libro se escribió con el propósito de proporcionarle al estudiante latinoamericano, de habla española, un libro didáctico para iniciarse en la antropología física, ya que los muchos años de su actividad docente le habían hecho sentir la falta de un texto adecuado.

El enfoque, esencialmente dinámico, con el cual Comas presentó los diversos aspectos que constituyen el conocimiento de la humanidad y del hombre como entidad biológica normal y la objetividad con la cual presenta los diferentes conceptos y teorías emitidas acerca de los problemas que se abordan, prefiriendo las citas de los autores originales a los resúmenes de las mismas, merecieron numerosas reseñas, todas elogiosas, en las revistas científicas de orientación antropológica. En una de ellas, Vallois (L'Anthropologie, tomo 62, pp. 325-27, 1959) se expresa en los siguientes términos: "Bien ilustrado

y presentado de una manera extremadamente didáctica, este libro encontrará seguramente una favorable acogida. No sólo llega a tiempo, sino que muestra la antropología tal como es realmente: no una ciencia de medidas estériles, sino una ciencia completa del Hombre vivo, considerado en su estructura, en su funcionamiento, en sus variaciones de todas clases." Nosotros podemos añadir a lo dicho por Vallois, que el Manual no solamente llegó a tiempo para que llenase las necesidades del estudiante latinoamericano, lo cual había sido la intención original de Comas, sino también las sentidas en otras partes del mundo. Muestra de ello es la aparición de la primera edición extranjera, una traducción al idioma inglés.

En su prólogo a dicha edición, W. M. Krogman caracteriza al Manual en los siguientes términos: "En lo que a mí se refiere, lo mejor que puedo decir del libro es que sigue la tradición de Martin en lo que se refiere a la osteometría y la somatometría elementales. Éstas representan el a, b, c para el estudiante. Pero luego tengo que agregar, que Comas no es un esclavo a esta tradición; el volumen avanza de la técnica a la aplicación y de la aplicación al planteamiento de problemas. En él hay hechos —una metodología estandarizada, y también hay teoría— la evaluación e interpretación de los hechos. Todo se presenta de acuerdo con un orden y una secuencia lógicas."

El Manual of Physical Anthropology, aunquqeq básicamente una traducción, difiere de la publicación española original en algunos puntos. En primer lugar se suprimió la parte referente a las nociones de estadística (30 pp. de la edición española) que no proviene de la pluma del autor del libro, debido a que al respecto existen muchas obras en inglés y además porque los numerosos errores que contiene le dificultan al estudiante aún más comprender un método de por sí un poco difícil para muchos principiantes.

En segundo lugar, algunos capítulos de la edición inglesa se modificaron ligeramente y se ampliaron. Por una parte se incluyeron en el texto las referencias a publicaciones aparecidas entre 1957 y 1960. Por otra parte, el autor hizo algunos cambios con el fin de dar a algunos puntos tratados una forma más explícita.

En el Capítulo II.—Heredity, se modificó el inciso 3, p. 108, que trata de los genes complementarios, lográndose en la edición inglesa una mayor claridad. En el inciso 10 del mismo capítulo (p. 116), referente a otros factores que intervienen en la complejidad de la herencia, se distingue más claramente entre los cambios debidos al conjunto de cromosomas (haploidismo y poliploidismo) y los causados por cambios en el número de cromosomas que constituyen dicho conjunto (heteroploidismo) (p. 116).

La adición de las figuras 9 y 10 era indispensable para ilustrarle al estudiante el mecanismo por medio del cual dos progenitores recesivos pueden dar origen a un descendiente dominante (pp. 120-121).

Al hablar de los diferentes tipos de mutaciones, Comas amplió el inciso referente a las mutaciones génicas, ilustrando las diversas posibilidades de verificarse por medio de una nueva Figura 11.

Aún dentro del mismo capítulo, se aumentó tanto la exposición como la discusión de las teorías emitidas por los paleontólogos y ortogenistas, quienes hacen resaltar la complejidad de los factores que deben haber intervenido en el proceso evolutivo, frente a las explicaciones parciales dadas por el mutacionismo (pp. 134-47).

Al hablar en el Capítulo V.—Somatology, de los grupos sanguíneos, se agrega el factor *Diego*, haciendo resaltar su importancia desde el punto de vista antropológico (pp. 302-3).

En el Capítulo VIII.—Paleoanthropology, al lado de otras pequeñas ampliaciones, se debe citar la referente a la clasificación taxonómica y la cronología de los australopitécidos y a la posibilidad de que sean los responsables de la pebble culture (pp. 488-91).

Otras modificaciones, basadas en nuevos hallazgos y nuevas interpretaciones se refieren a la posición filogenética del Gigantopithecus (pp. 500-501) y a la cronología de los restos de Monte Carmelo (pp. 520-22, 561-64).

En el Capítulo XI.—Racial Classification, debe mencionarse también la inclusión de mayores detalles de las teorías expuestas por Birdsell respecto a los elementos raciales que intervinieron en la formación de los tipos de Oceanía (pp. 653-56).

Estamos seguros que la edición inglesa del Manual de Antropología de Juan Comas tendrá una magnífica acogida, ya que en su carácter introductorio a la Antropología Física, con que fue diseñado, representa la obra más integral y al mismo tiempo más didáctica que se ha publicado con posterioridad al Lehrbuch de Martin.

H. F.

EDICIONES ESPECIALES

DEL

INSTITUTO INDIGENISTA INTERAMERICANO

1. *Las instituciones democráticas de los indígenas mexicanos en la época colonial,* por Luis Chávez Orozco. 1943. 61 pp. Mexico: $ 6.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.
2. *Exploración económico cultural en la región oncocercosa de Chiapas, México,* por Manuel Gamio. 1946. 46 pp. y 3 mapas. México: $ 6.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.
3. *The Health and Customs of the Miskito Indians of Northern Nicaragua: Interrelationships in a Medical Program,* por Michel Pijoan. 1946. 54 pp. (Agotado.)
4. *Índios do Brasil,* por Amílcar Botelho de Magalhães. 1947. 96 pp. México: $6.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.
5. *Consideraciones sobre el problema indígena,* por Manuel Gamio. 138 pp. 1948. México: $ 10.00—Otros Países: Dls. 1.00.
6. *Códice Osuna.* Edición con 158 pp. de texto inédito y 80 pp. de paleografía. Prólogo de Luis Chávez Orozco. 380 pp. 1947. México: $ 40.00—Otros Países: Dls. 4.00.
7. *Bibliografía morfológica humana de América del Sur,* por Juan Comas. 2 Tomos: I) 2,791 referencias y tres Índices analíticos; II) Atlas con 8 mapas sobre caracteres somáticos. 230 pp. 1948 México: $ 50.00—Otros Países: Dls. 6.00.
8. *Estudio comparado entre el derecho azteca y el derecho positivo mexicano,* por Carlos H. Alba. 140 pp. 1949. México: $ 10.00—Otros Países: Dls. 1.00.
9. *Índice del ramo de Indios del Archivo General de la Nación (México). de 1534 a 1590. Tomo I. Recopilado* por L. Chávez Orozco. 394 pp. 1951. México: $ 20.00—Otros Países: Dls. 2.00
10. *La Piedra Mágica. Vida y costumbres de los indios Callahuayas de Bolivia,* por Gustavo Adolfo Otero. XX+292 pp. y numerosas ilustraciones. 1951 México: $ 20.00—Otros Países: Dls. 2.00.
11. *Personality and Government. Findings and Recommendations of the Indian Administration Research,* by Laura Thompson. Prólogo de John Collier. 1951. XVIII+230 pp. México: $ 20.00—Otros Países: Dls. 2.00.
12. *Legislación Indigenista de Colombia.* Introducción crítica y Recopilación de Antonio García. 1952. 88 pp. México: $ 6.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.

13. *Ensayos sobre Indigenismo,* por JUAN COMAS. Prólogo de Manuel Gamio. 1953. XIV + 272 pp. México: $ 20.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 2.00.

14. *Índice del ramo de Indios del Archivo General de la Nación (México). De 1590 a 1597.* Tomo II. Recopilado por L. CHÁVEZ OROZCO. 412 pp. 1953. México: $ 20.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 2.00.

15. *El embarazo, el parto y el recién nacido. Manual para parteras rurales,* por LEO ELOESSER, EDITH GALT e ISABEL HEMINGWAY. 1954. 148 pp. México: $ 10.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.80.

16. *Guía de enseñanza para el libro "El embarazo, el parto y el recién nacido. Manual para parteras rurales",* por LEO ELOESSER. 1954. 48 pp. México: $ 1.90 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.15.

17. *Legislación Indigenista del Ecuador.* Recopilación de ALFREDO RUBIO ORBE. Prólogo de Gonzalo Rubio Orbe. 1954. 115 pp. México: $ 6.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.

18. *Legislación Indigenista de Guatemala.* Recopilación de JORGE SKINNER-KLÉE. México, 1954. 135 pp. México: $ 8.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.75.

19. *Los Congresos Internacionales de Americanistas. Síntesis histórica e Índice Bibliográfico General (1875-1952),* por JUAN COMAS. México, 1954. LXXXIV + 224 pp. y 16 láminas. México: $ 20.00. — Otros Países: Dls. 2.00.

20. *Índices Analíticos de Materias y Onomástico de "América Indígena" y "Boletín Indigenista" (1941-1953),* preparados por MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA. 1954. 196 pp. México: $ 8.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0,75.

21. *Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Newborn. A Manual for Rural Midwives,* by LEO ELOESSER, EDITH GALT and ISABEL HEMINWAY 1955. 151 pp. (out of print. See Special Edition ≠ 40).

22. *Teachers' Guide for Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Newborn. A Manual for Rural Midwives, by* LEO ELOESSER. 1955. 48 pp. México: $ 3.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.25.

23. *Programas de Salud en la Situación intercultural,* por GONZALO AGUIRRE BELTRÁN, 1955. 191 pp. México: $ 10.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.90.

24. *Seminario sobre Problemas Indígenas de Centroamérica, celebrado en San Salvador* (27 de junio a 2 de julio de 1955). 1955. 18 pp. México: $ 1.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.10.

25. *Legislación Indigenista de Chile.* Recopilación de ÁLVARO JARA. México, 1956. 128 pp. México: $ 8.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.75.

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27. *La Mujer Cuna de Panamá,* por REINA TORRES DE IANELLO. Pró-

logo de Manuel Gamio. 1957. VIII + 56 pp. México: $ 7.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.60.

28. *Principales aportaciones indígenas precolombinas a la cultura universal*, por JUAN COMAS. 1957. 56 pp. y numerosas ilustraciones. México: $ 7.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.60.
29. *Bibliografía Lingüística de la República Mexicana*, por ANSELMO MARINO FLORES. Prólogo de Manuel Gamio. 1957. 96 pp. y 2 Mapas. México: $ 12.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 1.00.
30. *Legislación Indigenista de Costa Rica*. Recopilación e Introducción de CARLOS MELÉNDEZ. 1957. 52 pp. México: $ 6.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.
31. *La Mujer Indígena de Centro América*, por MARGARITA GAMIO DE ALBA. Prólogo de Miguel León-Portilla. 1957. 96 pp. y numerosas ilustraciones. México: $ 12.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 1.00.
32. *Legislación Indigenista de Argentina*. Recopilación e Introducción de LÁZARO FLURY. 1957. 44 pp. México: $ 6.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.
33. *Supervivencias de cultura intelectual precolombina entre los otomíes de Huizquilucan*, por ÁNGEL Mª GARIBAY K. 1957. 46 pp. México: $ 7.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.60.
34. *A gravidez, o parto e o recém-nascido. Manual para parteiras rurais*, por LEO ELOESSER, EDITH GALT E ISABEL HEMINGWAY. 1958. 150 pp. México: $ 10.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.60.
35. *Legislación Indigenista de Honduras*. Recopilación e Introducción de ERNESTO ALVARADO GARCÍA. 1958. 99 pp. México: $ 8.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.75.
36. *Introdução à Historia da Antropologia Indígena no Brasil (Século xvi)*, por ESTEVÃO PINTO. Apresentação de Manuel Gamio. 1958. 150 pp. México: $ 10.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.80.
37. *Ideología Guaraní*, por NATALICIO GONZÁLEZ. Prólogo de Ángel Ma. Garibay K. 1958. 88 pp. Ilustrado. México: $ 10.00—Otros Países: Dls. 1.00.
38. *Legislación Indigenista de México*. Recopilación de varios investigadores. Introducción de Manuel Gamio. 1958. 200 pp. México: $ 20.00—Otros Países: Dls. 2.00.
39. *El Cachibay o Pijibay en la Cultura de los indígenas de América Intertropical*, por VÍCTOR MANUEL PATIÑO. 1958. 34 pp. Ilustrado. México: $ 6.00—Otros Países: Dls. 0.50.
40. *Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Newborn. A Manual for Rural Midwives*, by LEO ELOESSER, EDITH GALT and ISABEL HEMINGWAY 2nd revised edition, 1959, pp. 152. México: 10.00—Otros países: Dls. 0.60.
41. *Cinco Héroes Indígenas de América*, por ALBERTO ESTRADA QUEVEDO. 1960. 50 pp. Ilustrado. México: $ 6.00—Otros países: Dls. 0.50
42. *Danzas Indígenas del Brasil*, por FELÍCITAS BARRETO. 1960. XI + 138 pp. Ilustrado. México: $ 60.00—Otros países: Dls. 4.80.